



Directions for New Urban Neighbourhoods:

LEARNING FROM ST.LAWRENCE

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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Ryerson Polytechnical Institute

David L.A. Gordon
Editor

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DIRECTIONS FOR NEW URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS: LEARNING FROM ST. LAWRENCE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without a successful conference, these proceedings would never have become a reality, so to begin with, we would like to recognize the organizations and individuals who made New Urban Neighbourhoods: Learning from St. Lawrence a possibility.

The School of Urban and Regional Planning, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, initiated the idea of the Conference as part of their 20th anniversary celebration. They provided start up funds as well as a small army of student volunteers and staff support for many of the administrative and operational details including the tedious job of transcribing tapes of the Conference. These provided the basis for these proceedings.

Other conference sponsors, to whom we are gratefully indebted, are The City of Toronto, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ontario Ministry of Housing and Camroost Development Corporation.

The members of the organizing committee who served with me -- David Gordon, Ronald Keeble from the Ryerson School of Urban and Regional Planning; Helen Bulat, Leontine Van Bruggen and Dorothy Whiting from the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department and Ross Winter from the City of Toronto Housing Department -- worked long and hard planning and putting together a successful Conference. They are to be congratulated for their efforts.

A special thanks is owed to all the Conference speakers and panel members as well as participants who raised questions and contributed to lively discussions. Many of their comments have been included.

David Gordon, Conference Committee Chairman, from the Kirkland Partnership and Ryerson School of Urban and Regional Planning, deserves full credit for the compilation and editing of Conference materials for these proceedings. He undertook the job single-handed, which turned out to be much greater than was anticipated.

The statistical profile of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, which appears in the appendix, was prepared by David Gordon and Giovanni Tassone, planner with the Kirkland Partnership. Carolyn Humphreys, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, did the art work for the Conference. Giovanni Tassone did the art work and coordinated the production of the proceedings.

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Pam Hitchcock
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1. INTRODUCTION

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by David L. A. Gordon, Editor

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is a 23 hectare (56 acres) site adjacent to downtown Toronto. It is a mixed income, mixed use neighbourhood which is now widely regarded as one of the better inner-city redevelopment projects in North America. St. Lawrence now serves as a model for several other high density residential projects in the Toronto area.

The year 1989-90 marked the tenth anniversary of the occupancy of St. Lawrence by its first residents. It seemed to be an appropriate time to examine St. Lawrence as a mature neighbourhood. The year also marked the twentieth anniversary of the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson. The Institute's tradition of applied education and research in planning made it a welcome host.

The conference was designed to examine the planning, design, implementation and social organization of St. Lawrence. It combined papers commissioned on these four themes with panel discussions involving the people who were actually involved over a decade earlier. We were fortunate that so many of the key individuals agreed to give up part of their weekend to enrich the conference.

The Honourable Alan Redway, the Federal Minister of State for Housing, opened the conference with remarks on the benefits of federal participation in the creation of new communities. David Hulchanski then presented a paper which established St. Lawrence's place in the evolution of new urban neighbourhoods, with comparisons to other projects in Canada, Europe and Japan. The discussion on neighbourhood planning which followed continued informally through the reception and dinner, following Frank Lewinberg's axiom that planners should be passionate about their tasks.

Steven Fong and I tried to wake everyone up the next morning with our slides on the design of St. Lawrence. Residents and design professionals then engaged in a spirited debate on what makes a neighbourhood liveable. Rick Peddie's informative paper described the implementation of the project over a 15 year period. The panel discussion turned into a wide ranging examination of the difficulties of implementing a project with multiple developers and citizen participation with surrogate clients.

Joe Springer kept the aura of self-congratulation under control with a tough-minded attack on the current social structure in St. Lawrence. The debate which followed was eerily similar to the "discussion" of middle and upper income households in non-profit housing which erupted in the media later in 1990.

Presentations on three new urban neighbourhoods switched the emphasis from the past to the future. The designers of Ataratiri, Etobicoke-Lakeshore and Bathurst-Spadina discussed how their projects would "learn from St. Lawrence". Finally, Dan Burns concluded the conference with his observations on the key issues of for new neighbourhoods: design, funding and the environment.

One of the surprising aspects of the conference were the inconsistent statistics on the physical form of St. Lawrence. With the cooperation of the City of Toronto, Giovanni Tassone and I prepared definitive planning statistics for the neighbourhood, which are shown in Appendix B. Subsequently, we collaborated with Jerome Markson architects to compare St. Lawrence to the proposed Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood. Their report is included as Appendix C. Finally, we have included a comprehensive St. Lawrence bibliography for further reference.

On a personal note, I have learned a great deal from living in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and studying it for the conference. We can only hope that knowledge was transferred to our site plan for the new Ataratiri community. Perhaps we will have the opportunity to examine these new neighbourhoods a decade from now.



2. OPENING REMARKS

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2.1 Robert Crow:

It is my distinct pleasure to welcome so many friends and colleagues today and tomorrow to this important conference, Directions for New Urban Neighbourhoods: Learning from St. Lawrence.

The School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson, in this its twentieth year, is once again collaborating with its good friends at the City of Toronto to sponsor a special event. We trust that you will enjoy your time here at Ryerson and learn a great deal.

2.2 President Terence Grier:

I have actually two tasks, pleasant tasks, to perform in a few moments. First, as President of Ryerson, on behalf of all of us here, we welcome you to the campus and to this important conference. We congratulate the School of Urban and Regional Planning for taking the initiative to organize the conference and also express our appreciation to our colleagues at the City of Toronto for their participation in this joint effort. Urban Planning in the 1990's is a particularly complex and important subject, and I like to think that Ryerson, situated where it is, has a unique perspective on some of the issues. Indeed, we have participated as an applicant in recent months in the City of Toronto planning process and will ourselves shortly begin some significant construction on the one remaining parking lot of our campus, which I hasten to add will be replaced by a sufficient number of underground parking spaces. So, welcome to Ryerson, and I hope it will be a very fruitful two days.

My second pleasant task is to introduce the Honourable Allan Redway, federal Minister of State for Housing. I do this with a special sense of personal pleasure because a year or two ago the Minister and I were students together at The University of Toronto. I think he was in what was called Commerce and Finance. I was in Political Science and we found ourselves from time to time engaged in the political process on the campus. In those years The University of Toronto had a very active set of campus political clubs and each year the activities culminated in what was called a model parliament. I can remember an occasion when Allan Redway was a member of the government administration in the model parliament at the University of Toronto and I was bleating away from the opposition benches.

Not a lot has changed except that Allan Redway has gone on to establish an enviable career as a politician, both municipally, on the Council of East York and for several years as Mayor and lately as a member of the House of Commons and now Minister of State for Housing. Throughout those years, as a practitioner of politics at the municipal and the federal level, Allan Redway has won a reputation as a straight dealer, as a person who established a track record on the basis of doing his homework, knowing the issues, and getting things done. Now all of those phrases can be political cliché terms in the wrong hands. In the right hands, they add up to what politics is suppose to be about, and I suggest to you that in the Minister of State for Housing, we have a politician who has brought current credibility and substance to the role of a federal minister as he did before to the role of the Municipal Councillor and Mayor.

He has, in a short period as the Minister of State for Housing, demonstrated to all who deal with him a very solid grasp of the issues, a way of breaking through the bureaucracy in order to get things done. I guess in his Ministry that means getting housing starts and providing funds in a highly competitive federal environment for that purpose. We are honoured to have him here as one who has shown that the political process can get things done and that it is peopled by those who play it straight.

I am pleased to call on Allan Redway to open this conference with some remarks and to thank him for finding time from an extraordinarily heavy schedule to be with us this afternoon.

2.3 The Honourable Allan Redway:

Thank you, President Grier, for those kind remarks. As Terry has said we go back quite a long way together. He didn't mention one particular aspect our career together - in our graduating year, we worked together in the formative stages of what is now OHIP. I remember those days one summer together in a marvellous old house on Bay Street which is now the Institute of Public Administration.

I am very pleased to be with you today and I want to congratulate Ryerson's School of Urban and Regional Planning for planning and arranging this Conference. Obviously, conferences such as this are extremely important as far as the development of our cities are concerned and as far as the development of housing for Canadians is concerned. Certainly, the redevelopment of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is one which is an excellent example of how everybody working together, three levels of government and the private sector, can build and develop a balanced and an integrated community within a great city. It's an example that you are going to be studying today and tomorrow. It's an example and an opportunity for you and for all of us to learn, not as we often do from mistakes of the past, but really from a success story and that, of course, is what the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is all about.

A lesson that we can all learn from St. Lawrence is that cooperation and partnership are essential in developing new communities. The success of St. Lawrence required the contribution of many, many people. It took the initiative of the City of Toronto to assemble the site and the Federal Government to provide loans of over fourteen million dollars for that development through the federal housing agency that I am responsible for, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It required the cooperation of the Province, along with C.M.H.C. in providing two thousand social housing units to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Those units involve C.M.H.C. in direct loans of almost \$28 million and insured loans of over \$62 million. In addition to that, the Federal Government participated in the St. Lawrence project and continues to participate to the extent of an annual subsidy of \$5 million.

I cannot understand why the majority of Canadians don't realize that the Federal Government is involved in housing.

Perhaps, most of all this success story is a story of the commitment of the local community; the involvement of Cityhome, of private non-profit cooperatives in developing projects that create a well balanced neighbourhood, and we can't forget the private builders who created just over one thousand homes in the St. Lawrence Community. It is the cooperation and the partnership that brought about St. Lawrence from idea to reality and from paper concept to home to some seven thousand people. It's that kind of cooperation that I personally want to see encouraged among all levels of government, the private sector and public housing groups. In that regard, we have recently established tripartite committees made up of federal, provincial and municipal officials with the purpose of addressing the concerns of housing affordability. These committees are now in place in ten major urban centres across the country including one right here in Metropolitan Toronto.



Paul Bedford (City of Toronto), Hon. Allan Redway, President Terry Grier and Bob Crow (Ryerson Planning) discuss the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood

Jerry Davey



Ryerson President Terry Grier opens the Conference

They are based on a cooperative effort to look at ways to ease the housing situation. We hope to see some positive results before too long.

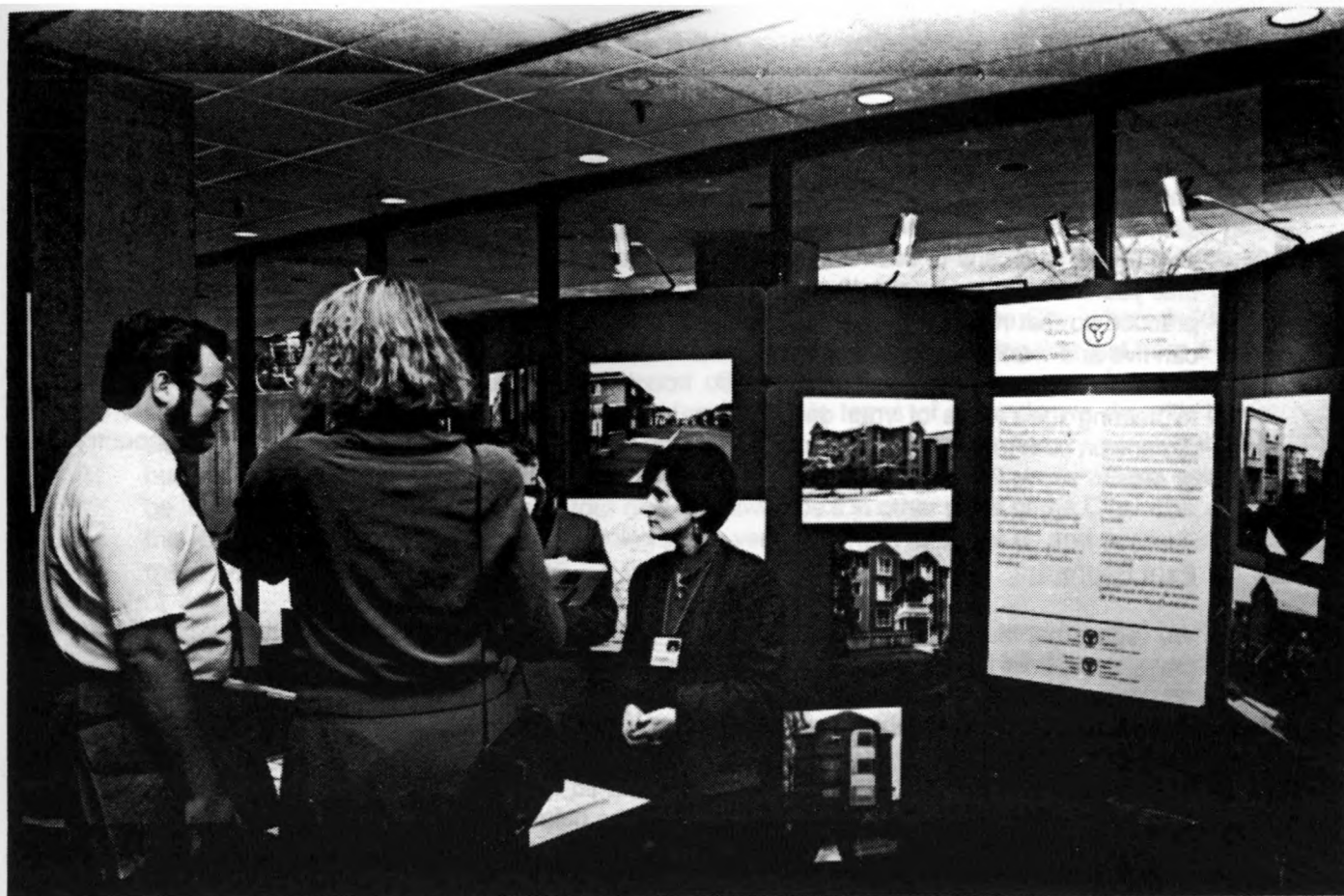
St. Lawrence also shows us how the benefits from government dollars can be multiplied by encouraging private investment. For years, the area of St. Lawrence contained a deteriorating mixture of marginal industries, housing and derelict buildings. Since the recent development began, there has not only been a major private investment within St. Lawrence, there has also been a significant spillover effect as private capital has been invested in the surrounding area. St. Lawrence has been a seed for renewal beyond its own limits. This neighbourhood began with a commitment that the heart of the City belonged to people.

Recently, I was honoured with an award from the Toronto Real Estate Board at their annual Civic Night and I was struck by their choice of the theme for that evening which was "the Heart of the City". Now that is really what St. Lawrence is. It provides a chance for many people, families and singles, young and old and the disabled to be part of this city. The Federal government is committed to the concept of fully integrated communities and we will be creating some new income mixed communities in sites where surplus federal lands in the Toronto area are being developed for housing, such as Downsview and Vaughan. Each of these developments will include a broad range of housing forms and a range of housing prices. We want to make certain that these communities will include housing that is appropriate for young families just starting out, for seniors, for disabled. We will be using the lessons all of us have learned from St. Lawrence in striving to achieve those goals.

It is essential that future developments enlist the cooperation of the private sector right at the beginning. It is going to take, in my view, a public/private partnership to ensure new communities serve a broad range of incomes. These communities need to include affordable market housing especially what might be termed modest housing. Housing that is appropriate to the needs of young couples who are just starting to enter the market for the first time. Last month, I announced that innovations that address the housing needs of young families would be the focus of C.M.H.C.'s 1990 National Housing Awards. Some of you who may have visited the C.M.H.C. exhibit outside of the lecture hall here may have seen the application forms for those awards, and I expect that many, many people in this room will be interested in making an application to participate in this. That is certainly something that I welcome, and I hope that from your bright ideas we will reap innovations that will be helpful in providing affordable housing for young people just starting out.

Finally, we face the challenge of ensuring that future developments will be sustainable. The Federal Government has made a commitment to achieve sustainable development, to establish an equilibrium between the economy, the environment, and society. This is essential to the quality of life of all Canadians. I recently had an opportunity to address Our World, the summit on the environment that was held here in Toronto in September. I met planners and academics, as well as ordinary citizens, all of whom were committed to a new vision of development, a view of cities which will not be drain on our environmental capital but rather will be sustainable.

In some ways, the St. Lawrence community anticipated this vision that is coming forward at the present time. As you know, it is downtown; it is close to work; it is close to shopping and in all of those respects it avoids many of the pollution problems that go with car travel. It also uses special design guidelines to address pollution problems and noise problems. Obviously, there is more that can be done to give our cities a long life and to make them truly sustainable. I am sure that you are going to be focusing on many of those issues in the next day or two. When you study St. Lawrence as an example for future neighbourhoods, I am confident that you are going to place matters such as pollution, energy self-sufficiency, waste recycling very high on your agenda. As a society, our attitudes are changing and we can and we must do more to preserve our life and our heritage for future generations.



The Ministry of Housing exhibit was busy

Jerry Davey

Jerry Davey



St. Lawrence Residents attended the Conference



The Honourable Allan Redway addresses the Conference

I am very pleased to have had the opportunity to say just a very few words to you this afternoon as we open this Conference. I know that you are going to be learning a lot from this Conference. I would like to extend to each and every one of you a challenge, not to just to learn from the things that you hear and see here, but also to go out and put these things into effect. Put them into practice so that not only will we be able to create communities with environments where people can live and work and be part of the city but where we can actually create communities which will be the essence of what the city is all about. I commend to you the Conference, and I look forward to hearing the results of your deliberations because I am sure that it is going to add another dimension both to the development of cities and to the development of housing in this great country of ours.

2.4 Paul Bedford:

We regret that Mayor Eggleton is tied up this afternoon in a caucus meeting, but I would like to make a few brief remarks on behalf of the City of Toronto.

This conference is an important session. People should really put all their effort into it and try to get the most out of the next couple of days. Everyone is familiar with the phrase that "Toronto is a city of neighbourhoods". I don't think anyone would quarrel with that. St. Lawrence is perhaps one of its newest, most successful and most unique neighbourhoods.

When David Gordon and others approached the City some months ago and talked about having a conference on St. Lawrence, I thought it was a good idea. However, there were some reactions from people in and outside City Hall that said, "Gee, not St. Lawrence again. You know we have talked about that to death. Surely, there is something else to talk about." I think nothing could be further from the truth. There really has never been a thorough, exhaustive, open-ended dialogue on St. Lawrence, the type I hope we are going to have over the next day and a half. It is an appropriate theme because as we are entering some challenging times in the 1990's. There are critical issues that have to be dealt with properly.

St. Lawrence was conceived at a time when existing planning solutions were being challenged. As you will hear later today and perhaps tomorrow, there was a deliberate decision to depart from the traditional thinking about how you go about planning new neighbourhoods in the early 70's. There was a hell of a lot of new energy and vision and excitement at that particular period of time.

I think there are some major, significant reasons why St. Lawrence has been a success. The community is one of the major ingredients, but I think the community, the politicians and the planners were all travelling down the same path together at that point in time in the 70's. Everybody had the same sort of general vision, and personally, I have some doubts about that as we head into the 90's. I am sure we will have some discussion on that.

I think it is also a little ironic that here we are, twenty years after St. Lawrence was first conceived, and the development cycle is starting to come around full circle. The City is now being confronted with massive changes. There are enormous areas that are undergoing change. Large new neighbourhoods are being created. In some cases with a master planning approach, such as Ataratiri, just to the east of St. Lawrence. In other cases, not so much attention is being given to planning issues. There are massive areas of the west and east ends of the City, where industrial uses are, for various reasons, relocating to the suburbs. They are recognizing that just from a pure economic, financial perspective they are better off leaving this City, going somewhere else and cashing in their chips. This is a major problem for us in terms of what do we do with those extensive areas of lands. We are dealing with not a few acres or ten or twenty acres but with hundreds of acres. We are dealing with a situation where over the next 10 years we are going to be looking at creating about three or four new St. Lawrence's in other parts of the City. Therefore, the results of these next two days are going to be very important for all of us and particularly for me.

Finally, I would just like to touch on the essence of St. Lawrence. I did not work directly on the St. Lawrence project, but I clearly remember the debates and discussions and all the energy that went into St. Lawrence. I think there was a strong commitment on everybody's part to capture a new wave and a new spirit. I think that recapturing that spirit is essential for the 90's, if we are going to stand here ten years from now and talk about other neighbourhoods that, hopefully, will be as successful as St. Lawrence. We need that vision.

We have to reinforce the basic principles that make St. Lawrence successful, and we also have to learn from the mistakes and problems that St. Lawrence has. Nothing is perfect. The challenge has never been greater. My advice to you in this session and in the next day and a half would be to listen very carefully, work hard, think hard, and speak your mind. Don't sit there on your hands. Don't hesitate. Really speak up and challenge the speakers. Because I think the challenge for us all is to build a better St. Lawrence and that is not going to be too easy to do.



3. PLANNING ST. LAWRENCE

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Paul Bedford:

The first session this afternoon is about planning St. Lawrence which is a good place to start. Our speaker is Mr. David Hulchanski who is currently the Director of the U.B.C. Centre for Human Settlements. David is also an Associate Professor of the School of Community and Regional Planning at the University of British Columbia where he teaches various courses on housing policy and neighbourhood planning. He earned his Master's degree and Ph.D in Urban Planning from the University of Toronto in the 1970's and is the author of a study done in 1984 entitled St. Lawrence and False Creek: Planning and Development of Two New Inner City Neighbourhoods. The title of his presentation is Planning New Urban Neighbourhoods: Lessons from Toronto's St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

3.1 PAPER: PLANNING NEW URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS: LESSONS FROM TORONTO'S ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD

by J. David Hulchanski, Director, UBC Centre for Human Settlements and Associate Professor
School of Community and Regional Planning, The University of British Columbia

Ten years ago people began moving into a new municipally developed residential district adjacent to downtown Toronto. The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, with its 3,500 housing units on 44 acres of previously industrial and under utilized land, continues to attract a great deal of attention from citizens and professional planners.[1]

When the decision was made to acquire the site four basic development goals were identified by the City of Toronto: to create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate income; to provide housing in the central city; to ensure that redevelopment occurred in accordance with sound planning goals rather than ad hoc market forces; and to create a neighbourhood which will benefit from the historic buildings in the area and, in turn, revitalize what was once the Town of York.[2] In the first planning study for the St. Lawrence site the planners felt that if the "social and physical considerations are handled with sensitivity and with imagination," St. Lawrence would "become a vital, dynamic and attractive new community on the edge of downtown Toronto." [3]

There are many large housing developments in Toronto. Some are much larger than St. Lawrence. Some are even called "neighbourhoods" rather than "housing projects." Is there something special about the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood? What has been achieved by the planners? Is St. Lawrence a "successful" example of community planning? What do we mean by "success"? What is St. Lawrence's contribution to the planning and design of new urban neighbourhoods? In short, what can we learn from the planning of St. Lawrence?

These are questions which can only be answered with the passage of time. Ten years is enough time to at least begin the process of learning from St. Lawrence.

3.1.1 The "Planners" of St. Lawrence: Who Were They?

Any review of the "planning" of St. Lawrence must start by identifying who these planners were. Rather than a small group of "experts," St. Lawrence had three groups of planners: the professional planners; the decision makers; and citizens and community based organizations.

The group of professional planners includes the usual team of urban planners, architects, and engineers -- the professionals paid to do the actual work in planning and designing the new neighbourhood. The decision makers includes members of City Council as well as the senior municipal staff who gave the team of professional planners their orders. Rather than passively reviewing final development proposals, this group was actively involved in all important decisions relating to the nature of the new neighbourhood. It was decided, even before selection of the site, to create a municipal Housing Department to implement City Council's housing policy in order for Council and municipal staff to maintain full control over all decisions.[4] Citizens and community-based organizations includes the active and articulate individuals and groups who influenced the politicians and senior staff.

It is important, therefore, to recognize that references to the "planners" of St. Lawrence must include more than the professional hired staff (the first group).

The fact that there were so many planners, especially so many from the third group, is one of the elements which allowed for the development of a unique large project which ended up violating many of the traditional approaches professional planners were using at the time in the planning of large scale residential projects. The St. Lawrence planning process was different and the resulting product was different compared to most new neighbourhoods developed prior to the 1970s.

There is yet an additional positive feature of the St. Lawrence planning process. Some individuals were key members of more than one group. A number of professionals were elected to City Council in 1972 and 1974 when the important decisions on the nature of St. Lawrence were made. Some of the professionals who eventually ended up doing the planning and design work for the new neighbourhood were active in the community with the community based organizations which were in part responsible for helping elect some of the new members of City Council.

The political context of the times is also an important factor to keep in mind in any review of the planning of St. Lawrence. Until the early 1970s, few professionals listened to "ordinary" citizens. Few politicians paid close attention to the details of new projects. The "citizen participation in planning" movement began in the late 1960s and early 1970s and St. Lawrence is one of the earliest products of the close democratic interaction of community based organizations, elected municipal officials, and professional planners.

3.1.2 What is "St. Lawrence"?

How can we "define" what St. Lawrence is? If we are dealing with something unique or different, we need to distinguish it from other large scale residential developments. One possible descriptive definition is the following: **St. Lawrence is a new, municipally planned and developed, inner city, high density, socially mixed neighbourhood.**

- (a) **New.** St. Lawrence is "new," in the sense of starting completely from scratch. There is no rehabilitation of existing residential units involved. There were no residential units or residential streets on the site.
- (b) **Municipally Planned and Developed.** St. Lawrence is not a private sector project. It was not even developed as a unit by a private firm on behalf of the City of Toronto. St. Lawrence was initiated, planned and implemented by municipal government, in co-operation with all other levels of government, the private sector and community based organizations (housing co-operatives, non-profit societies, and so on).
- (c) **Inner City.** St. Lawrence is very close to downtown. It is on expensive land. It had few neighbouring residential amenities when the project was conceived. Its planners and the municipal decision makers decided to buck the North American trend of abandoning the inner city area as a potentially desirable residential environment. People living in downtown Toronto became one of the important central area planning objectives of the City. Social mix and housing for families with children in the central area were also objectives. Up to that time most large scale inner city residential projects were public housing urban renewal sites limited to the very poor.

- (d) **High Density.** St. Lawrence is very high density. It is a large development in the number of units, rather than the size of the site. About 3,500 housing units have been put on 44 acres. This is an average gross density of 78 units/acre and a net density of 123 units/acre (individual buildings range from 307 to 53 units/acre). [Editor's Note: More recent statistics are in Appendix B]
- (e) **Socially Mixed.** St. Lawrence is "democratic": it is open and accessible to all groups. It is not the exclusive residential domain of any one socio-economic group, whether rich or poor. Unlike most public and private sector housing projects before, and many since, St. Lawrence is not a socially homogeneous residential development.
- (f) **Neighbourhood.** The intention of the St. Lawrence planners was to produce more than just a large housing project. They wanted to produce a "neighbourhood." This raises the question: what is a neighbourhood -- how do we know one when we see it? There is no objective way to answer this question. What makes a "project" a "neighbourhood" is similar to what makes a "house" a "home." It is largely up to the people who live there to make it one or the other. Whether a residential project is truly a neighbourhood in the social and community sense of the term is a personal, subjective call which can only be made by people who live there, visit there, or study it.

This six-part definition helps separate St. Lawrence from many other large scale residential developments. There are three main categories of "lessons" that the planning of St. Lawrence has to offer:

- * the physical site plan and building form;
- * the social planning decisions, especially the social mix; and
- * the planning process itself.

Each of these was a departure from past methods and each is critical to the success of St. Lawrence as a new neighbourhood.

3.1.3 The Site Plan for St. Lawrence: It is Both New and Old

What is particularly unique about the St. Lawrence site plan is the decision to dogmatically impose a traditional grid street plan and to avoid the use of high rise point towers to achieve the very high density objective. Toronto's nineteenth century street pattern and street scape served as the basic design guidelines. Buildings were to be street-related. The plan resulted in a pattern based on the City's original streets, a central linear park with adjacent playgrounds, three-storey row houses on the site's interior roads and buffered from the main traffic arteries by higher density, eight to ten storey apartment buildings.

This was a break with much of modern planning history. Throughout the twentieth century planners have been trying to move developers of subdivisions away from the grid -- the cheapest, quickest, most efficient way of dividing up land for development purposes. Planning regulations for post-war suburbs, as a result, generally require curved road systems. As more redevelopment of existing urban areas began to occur planners and architects usually succeeded in having the existing streets eliminated and replaced with "superblocks" -- buildings surrounded with open space and no longer street-related.

At the very start of the site planning process in 1974 decisions were made to retain the existing streets running through the site with their "existing uses, character and scale." More minor existing streets and older buildings were to be "respected." The movement system was to be designed to resemble other Toronto neighbourhoods and prevent St. Lawrence from becoming an "isolated neighbourhood." In short, the project was to be designed in keeping with the most favoured characteristics of Toronto's inner city residential neighbourhood. There was to be one exception: it was proposed that the design provide a site with a "major neighbourhood focus" such as a city square, something not commonly found in Toronto Neighbourhoods.[5] The result is an eight acre six block long park (18% of the site) located at the centre of the neighbourhood.

This design concept of street-related development had been proposed earlier in the new City Council's first statement of its housing policy as a means of integrating public projects with their surroundings.[6] Throughout the planning of St. Lawrence this emphasis appeared to be more concerned with avoiding the traditional image of public housing than with any real positive attributes associated with a grid street pattern. The grid was seen as having some practical positive attributes given the location of the St. Lawrence site. The planners felt that respecting the city's traditional street grid would "achieve two important planning goals."

"First, it 'blurs' the interface between the new development and the older City fabric, thus avoiding gross physical demarcation. Second, it provides a recognizable street pattern (an hierarchy) which is understood by those who live in the City."[7]

The decision to maintain the grid street system was one of the most fundamental site plan decisions made and affected the entire design of the project. It was a decision which was made almost naturally, that is, without much debate or consideration. It was simply assumed to be the best approach, an assumption shared by all three groups of planners (the professionals, the influential politicians, and the influential citizens). Underlining this decision was a clear philosophical rejection of "modernist" approaches to urban design and architecture. This was a common theme in the early 1970s of the urban reform movement in general. Almost all urban renewal projects and all the public housing projects of the 1950s and 1960s used the "superblock" design concept, obliterating existing street patterns and buildings in favour of a strict separation of vehicles and pedestrians and imposing a new non-grid layout for traffic, pedestrians and buildings.

Other 1970s era municipally planned and developed large scale residential projects tend to be based on the superblock and the separation of pedestrians and traffic. For example, the Bijlmermeer district of Amsterdam was designed to incorporate all the desirable site planning and design features -- according to the conventional planning wisdom of the day -- in order to be attractive to the middle class (see Figure 2-1). The middle class was to be attracted out of the Amsterdam's older neighbourhood into this new highly desirable neighbourhood, thereby freeing up the older -- and prior to the gentrification trend -- cheaper apartments. The new neighbourhood for 100,000 people (ten times the size of St. Lawrence) has ninety percent of its residential units in similar looking high rise blocks laid out in a honeycomb pattern. Traffic and pedestrians are strictly separated. The buildings were designed in part to suit industrial construction methods (making it possible to build about 2,500 flats at a time).[8] For a variety of reasons, which start with the site plan and building form decisions, the Bijlmermeer is considered to be one of the great neighbourhood planning disasters of the 1970s. Many people only live in the district as a last resort.

Failures such as the Bijlmermeer are often attributed to the need to accommodate high density development. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, some might argue, to develop a new neighbourhood at a very high density, especially one which will have a great deal of assisted housing. St. Lawrence demonstrates, however, that there is a way to successfully achieve high densities.

In Osaka, where densities higher than Toronto are expected, the decision by the municipality to redevelop an inner city area like the St. Lawrence site has resulted in a residential density which is about half that of St. Lawrence. The Yodogawa Riverside District Project (see Figure 2-2), planned at about the same time as St. Lawrence by the Osaka City Government, and now in its final implementation stage, will contain almost as many housing units as St. Lawrence (3,230 units) but on twice the site (88 acres). "The aim of the project," according to city planning authorities, "is to construct a comfortable residential area with a population of roughly 10,000 by...constructing 3,200 good quality dwellings proximate to the workplace and comprehensively providing public facilities, such as roads, parks and school." [9] As Table 1 indicates, the different density is related to the different land use distribution. Only 46% of the Osaka site is residential. Roads occupy almost twice as much space in the Osaka project even though a grid street pattern was not used and the "park" land use category in the Osaka project refers to the open space around the highrise slabs as well as the actual dedicated parks. The net density is only 80 units per acre, compared to the St. Lawrence net density of 123 units per acre, even though all the housing is in 12 to 15 storey high rise blocks. It can be argued that the Osaka site does not use the land as efficiently as St. Lawrence. It can also be argued that St. Lawrence is a much more desirable neighbourhood than Yodogawa, even though the overall density is double.

The decision in Toronto to go back to the traditional 19th century urban development pattern seems to be a product unique to Toronto at that time. While this point about using the grid, bringing back the street and the sidewalk, may seem rather natural and obvious to many Canadian planners today, the St. Lawrence planners were charting a new course back in the 1970s. They almost totally rejected the conventional post-war approaches to planning large scale residential districts. They threw away much of what was being taught in planning, architecture and urban design courses about large residential projects. If they had not, a project like Yodogawa may have resulted. At the time this was a dramatic, bold, high risk decision. Having thrown away the textbooks, they had to write their own new textbook. This is one of the unique contributions of the planning of St. Lawrence.

While the physical site planning decisions are very important, these are not sufficient. Many projects of the 1950s and 1960s failed to do more than physical planning. The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is significant because of its attention to social planning considerations.

3.3.4 Social Planning for St. Lawrence: A Rejection of the Past

St. Lawrence is a socially mixed neighbourhood. Few neighbourhoods, new or old, are socially mixed. "Residential differentiation," the academic term for social segregation, is the norm. The majority of neighbourhoods tend to have one predominant housing type and tenure with one predominant socio-economic class of resident. There are always a few totally mixed neighbourhoods in most cities and a few undergoing transition at any time. Most, however, are socially segregated.

The St. Lawrence social mix objective incorporated many elements: age; income; tenure; household size; household type; families with children. Social mix was a major goal. St. Lawrence's social mix decisions amount to a total rejection of the conventional 1950s and 1960s practice whereby public sector urban residential projects were the segregated enclaves of the very poor and private sector urban residential projects were the segregated enclaves of higher income households.

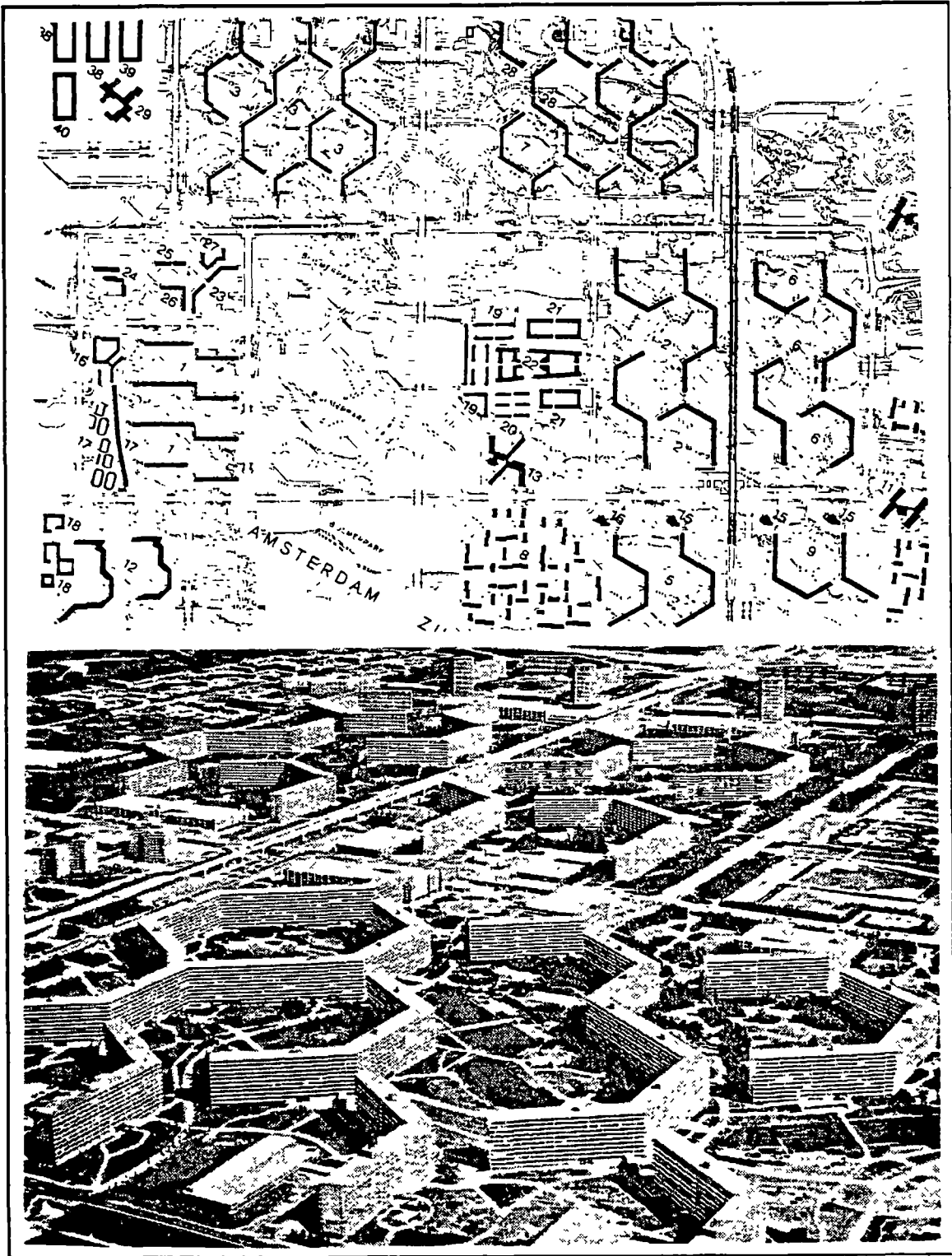


FIGURE 3-1

Bijlmermeer District, Amsterdam

There is much discussion about and a great deal of literature on what is meant by "social mix" and why it is or is not desirable. My approach to this is very simple: "social mix" is a planning principle which addresses fundamental justice and equity considerations. To develop a large residential project, whether it is by a public or private sector developer, and to create a segregated district based on income, or age, or tenure, or household status is just as bad as creating racially or religiously segregated districts. The issue is one of democracy: equal access to a basic necessity (housing) in a good quality living environment (neighbourhood). The goal is to be inclusive, not exclusive. Most private sector residential projects pride themselves on being "exclusive" and use it as a marketing feature. The St. Lawrence planners sought to achieve the opposite. The first of the four goals for St. Lawrence focused explicitly on the creation of housing for all groups: "to create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those of low and moderate incomes." [10]

By creatively mixing tenures, market and non-market housing, and house types the St. Lawrence social mix objectives have been successfully achieved. This begs the question: What is a "good" social mix? There is no, and can be no, scientific determination of what is a "good" or appropriate social mix for a large new neighbourhood. An attempt to replicate the age, income and household size and type distribution in the city or region, with some emphasis on special needs groups, is as good as any formula. [11]

The reason "social mix" has become a popular planning principle in these days of widespread citizen participation in planning issues, is that the real estate market is not "democratic," it is not accessible and does not even try to be accessible to all. The unregulated market produces "exclusive" districts based on the ability to pay. The early public housing projects did the same in the opposite direction: based on the inability to pay. Separate segregated worlds were being created. In expensive urban areas such as the St. Lawrence site a public policy choice had to be made: will the logic of the market be allowed to prevail; or will another logic be adopted?

If allowed to continue without any intervention in the form of regulations and non-market housing supply programs, the logic of the market means the eventual locational segregation of the population based on income. This is something the St. Lawrence planners rejected. This was one of the fears in the early 1970s which led to St. Lawrence's social planning objectives.

Finally, in any discussion of social mix, it is important to distinguish between physical and actual social integration. Physical integration exists when heterogeneous groups of people occupy adjacent physical space. This creates the potential for actual social integration.

St. Lawrence was planned so as to achieve the former. Broader social engineering was not part of the concept in the establishment of social mix criteria. The objective was the more modest, realistic and appropriate one of: a) permitting the full range of social groups to have an opportunity to live in the neighbourhood; and (b) avoiding the creation of a project atmosphere, which could occur if the neighbourhood was designed for one socio-economic group. The social and tenure mix objectives, therefore, stem from a planning philosophy which argues that residential areas, especially those being designed from scratch, should reflect, within themselves and in their immediate surroundings, the variety and mix of the wider physical and social world. A mix of housing types, sizes, costs and tenures can accommodate changing life styles and life cycles. Residents have a choice of staying within their area as their requirements change. Large projects like Amsterdam's Bijlmermeer and Osaka's Yodogawa do not provide this mix and these options.

St. Lawrence achieved its social mix by carefully planning the range of housing types and tenures. In spite of the high central area land values, a significant proportion of family units with grade access was achieved: 16%, approximately 575 units. There is a thorough mix of tenure types: 39% condominium apartments; 30% non-profit co-operatives and private non-profit rental; 27% municipal non-profit rental; 4% ownership townhouses. Almost sixty percent of the units are various forms of non-market, non-profit housing, ensuring long term affordability for low and moderate income households. The unit allocation regulations governing the municipal, private and co-op non-profit units further ensures that lower income households and families with children will continue to live in St. Lawrence. Displacement by gentrification is impossible in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

It is, therefore, the non-profit and co-op housing programs which enabled the St. Lawrence planners to achieve their social mix objectives. The income mix within the individual non-profits and co-ops in St. Lawrence helps ensure that there is not a huge gap between a very poor group of residents receiving housing assistance and a very wealthy group able to buy condominiums and townhouses in the central area.

3.1.5 The Planning Process: Open and Democratic

The third of the three key aspects of planning a new neighbourhood is the process by which the planning is done. Here St. Lawrence is also a departure from the past. St. Lawrence is not the product of a small group of professionals working in their offices and then delivering a final design for implementation. Nor were the decision makers, the elected officials and the senior municipal staff, involved in a passive way merely at the approval. As noted earlier, three groups of "planners" were involved. St. Lawrence was planned by a broad range of people for a broad range of people. A very different process, leading to very different outcomes.

This can be seen when we contrast St. Lawrence with other large scale residential projects.

Question: Were Regent Park north or south, Moss Park, Alexandra Park (See Figure 2-3) -- that is, any of the large urban renewal public housing projects which preceded St. Lawrence -- the result of a planning process like St. Lawrence?

Question: What kind of planning process was St. Jamestown -- that is, the very large scale private sector high rise projects -- a product of? (See Figure 2-4)

Question: Do any of the planners and decision makers involved in producing the Regent Parks and St. Jamestown's live in these projects? Did any of them ever intend to live in them, or to hope to have any of their family or friends ever live in them? Would they want to move there now?

It is the nature of the open democratic planning process which produced the good decisions about the other two key successful planning elements: the more humane approach to the site plan and building form; and the democratic nature of the target population (the social mix). It is the process that helped produce something which is not a Regent Park or St. Jamestown, or Bijlmermeer or Yodogawa. St. Lawrence is a place where some of the planners would want to live and some in fact do live.

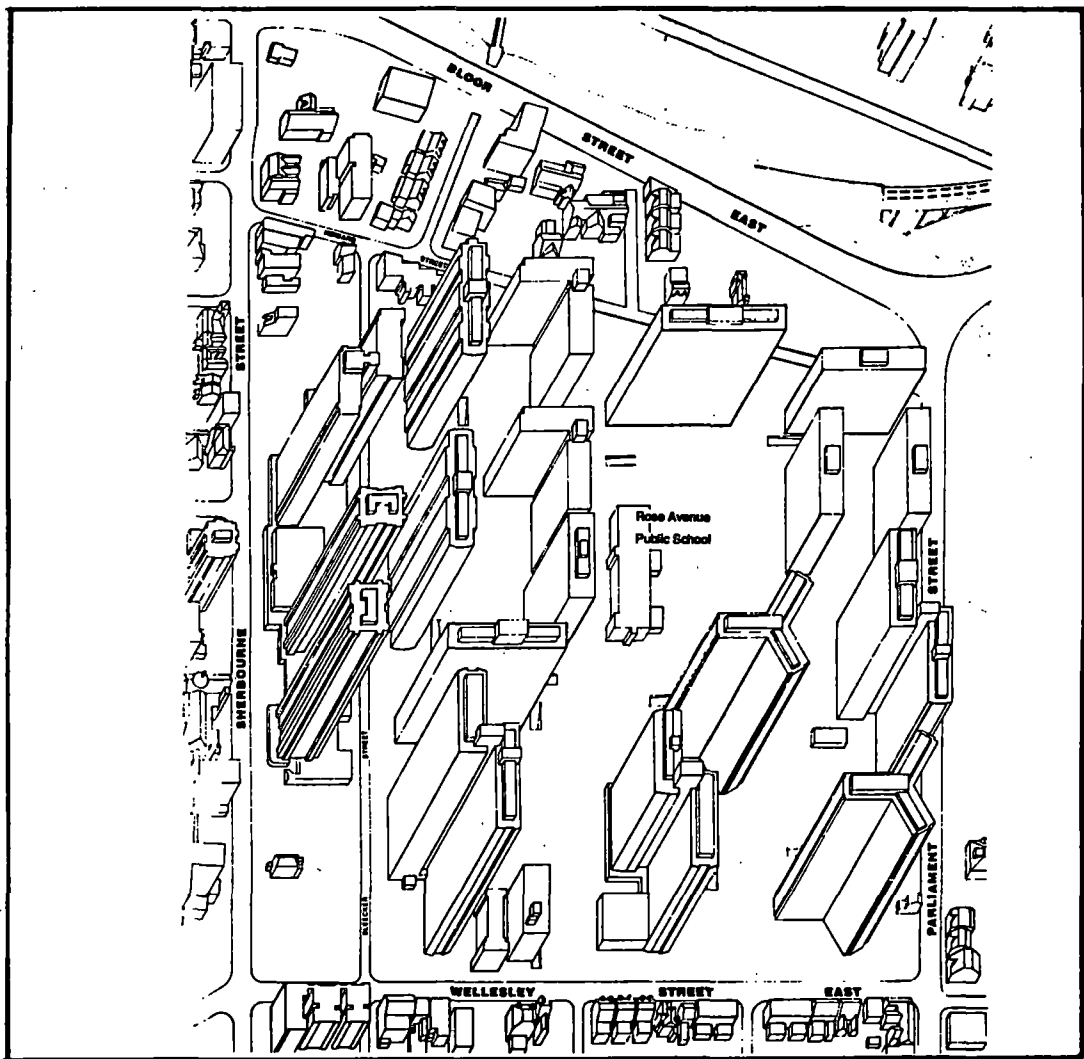


FIGURE 3-4

St. James Town, Toronto

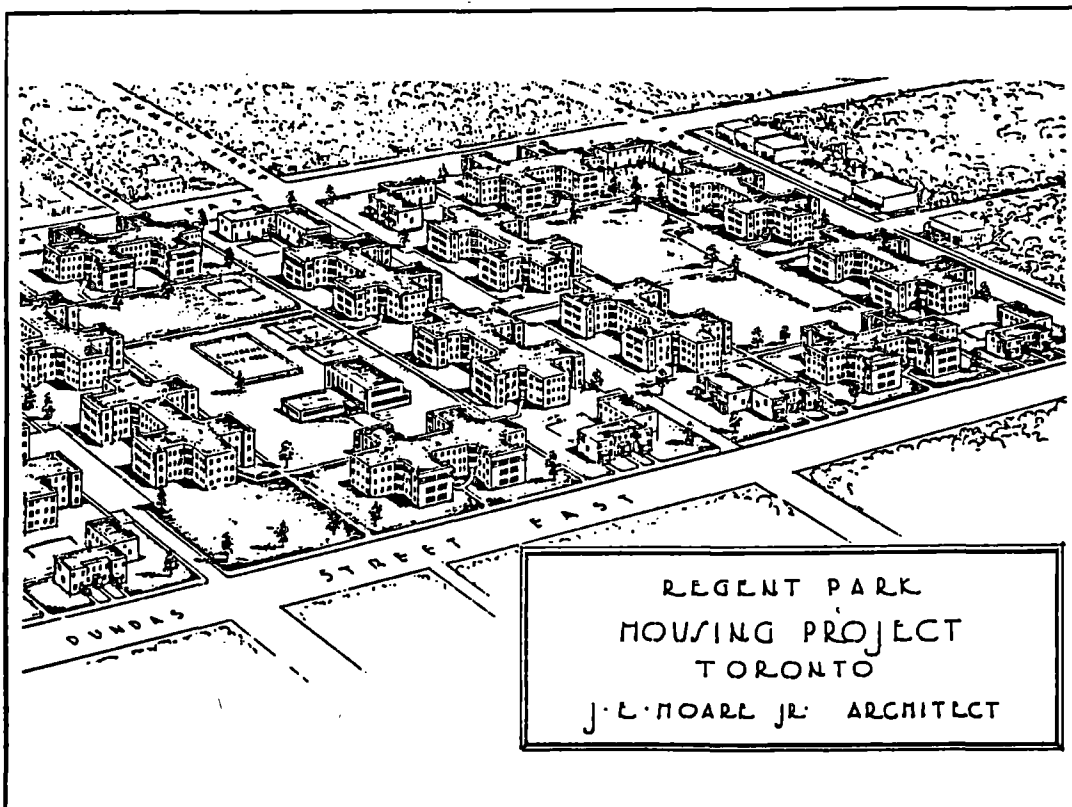


FIGURE 3-3

Regent Park North, Toronto

Could St. Lawrence as it is today have been produced without this planning process? My answer is no. A number of special interests or old attitudes or simple incompetence could have risen up through the various stages of the decision making process, leading to compromises or serious errors we would now be complaining about. This is not to imply that the planning process was perfect and free from conflicts and difficulties. Open democratic processes are loaded with difficulties and inefficiencies and real or perceived injustices by one group or another. We have much to learn from a careful review of the St. Lawrence planning process: what to do and what not to do next time. It is the three groups of planners acting in this sometimes "messy" and "inefficient" process that helped make St. Lawrence what it is today, and not another St. Jamestown, Regent Park, Bijlmermeer or Yodogawa.

3.1.6 Summary

St. Lawrence is a neighbourhood planned by an open public process, developed by a public authority, the City of Toronto, and achieved important public policy objectives relating to housing needs. The planners - all three groups of planners -- of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood have succeeded in developing a successful new high density inner city neighbourhood.

There is much we can learn from more detailed studies of the various aspects of the planning of St. Lawrence. The neighbourhood does have many important lessons to offer other planners of other large scale residential developments. As is the case with much of our built environment, there are rarely any follow-up studies once people move in. Some effort is now being made to learn from the achievements and mistakes of St. Lawrence, but there should be much more follow-up.

At a general level, this paper has identified the importance of the physical site plan and building form, the social planning decisions, especially the social mix, and the planning process itself. Each of these was a significant departure from past methods of planning large scale residential developments. St. Lawrence demonstrates that public planning of large development projects in an open democratic fashion can be successful and that desirable high density socially mixed neighbourhoods can be developed by a municipality.

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2. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) St. Lawrence, May, pp. 7,9.
3. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) St. Lawrence, pp. 9.
4. For a discussion of the various reasons for creating the Housing Department, see C. Gray (1980).
5. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) St. Lawrence Status Report, Nov., pp. 114-115, 120.
6. City of Toronto Housing Work Group (1973) Living Room: An Approach to Home Banking and Land Banking for the City of Toronto, Dec.
7. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) St. Lawrence Status Report, pp. 110.
8. Amsterdam Physical Planning Department (1983) Amsterdam: Planning and Development, City of Amsterdam, pp. 71-73.
9. Osaka City Government (1984) Redevelopment Project for Yodogawa Riverside District, Osaka.
10. City of Toronto Housing Department (1974) St. Lawrence, p. 7.
11. The False Creek South neighbourhood, a 1,700 units new neighbourhood very similar to St. Lawrence in terms of municipal planning objectives, used the region's demographic profile as the social mix target. This target was achieved. See: City of Vancouver Planning Department (1989) Evaluation of False Creek South Social Objectives, July.

3.2 PANEL DISCUSSION: PLANNING ST. LAWRENCE

Paul Bedford, Moderator:

Our first, respondent is Mr. Frank Lewinberg. He has had an extensive planning career both in the public and private sector. Frank worked for the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department for many years and since 1981 has been a planning consultant, most recently at Berridge, Lewinberg, Greenberg, one of the most well known firms in the City. He just returned from Moscow last evening, expanding his horizons even further. Please welcome Frank Lewinberg.

Frank Lewinberg, Speaker:

I do not know if one can really do evaluations until the planners are dead. I was part of a small group of people (a couple of whom are here today) who was involved in this planning process that David talked about. We will wait another fifty years and we will come back and take a look at St. Lawrence and make some serious judgements then.

The pendulum of planning fashion, which St. Lawrence represented, is still swinging. I wonder when we are going to swing back somewhere else, and I am not sure what the next direction will be. I get nervous because sometime it has got to swing back the other way and people are going to start criticizing again.

I am going to tell you what I consider to be the major important things that drove the St. Lawrence planning process. You will make the decision on whether it is a success yourselves, in this day and the next fifty years. However, these ideas are what drove us and what I think lay behind the St. Lawrence site planning process.

First of all, there were a very small number of clear simple goals and objectives. The kind of goals and objectives that ordinary people could understand including politicians. They were very general, like mix. Anybody who knows about St. Lawrence knows that we talked religiously about mix all the time. Mix of uses, mix of tenures, mix of people, mix, mix, mix. It was one of the goals that we kept in front of us all the time. The other important thing about having those goals is they have to be goals you can return to in the process of making the plan so that you can say "Are we getting there?" "Are we achieving?" "How does this relate to those goals?"

There cannot be too many goals and they cannot be too complicated. We had perhaps four goals. We developed a couple as we went along, such as street-related development "people walk on grade". You have to write these things down and say them, otherwise they are not a goal. Then they are phrases which you can return to all the time. They seem very ordinary, but in those days we were responding to things like St. Jamestown where people walked on decks, cars didn't necessarily go on streets and people in cars didn't go along the same kinds of routes.

I think the second most important thing was urgency and need. We were driven by a very hard task master which was the need to get housing and also by an individual who said "We have got to get as many units built as quickly as possible." Michael Dennis kept the pressure on the planning process from day one. I believe that the St. Lawrence Project was announced in May of '74 and something like a year and a half later the Official Plan was approved and the first buildings were underway.

The process was dramatically quick and that is essential. An almost oppressive process had to be put onto these three types of planners that David talked about to make them do their work quickly and stop them from getting sidetracked. Another aspect was that because it was a government program everybody wanted to do everything. A government development should solve every single social problem that exists. It should also meet everybody's housing needs and every group's desires. It is the oppressive guy on the top that stops delays and makes sure that this project goes fast, that decisions and decision-making times get cut and only the debate that is very important occurs. That is the second most important thing that I learned.

Third, was this public discussion process. I call it a limited public process. The way we did it in St. Lawrence (which is, I assume, similar to the way Ataratari is doing it) was to create a neighbourhood council. The St. Lawrence Working Committee took the whole issue of public process and put it onto a limited number of people as their responsibility. On behalf of the Council, on behalf of the whole community, it was their job to make sure that the public interest was attended to. It meant a lot of work and they had to be there to do it regularly. We could not afford to have hundreds and hundreds of meetings and teach everybody what it was all about. So really what we had was a very limited public process.

What was the effect of this process? Simply, it added legitimacy to the project because when anybody complained that the public was not involved, we said, "What are you talking about? We had those guys there. We sat with them once a week. They represented all of you and anybody who wanted to be represented could have been represented. And they were there from the start". But they were much more significant than, because they become advocates of the process. They helped everybody to understand through ordinary people what this very complicated process was all about. The positive side of what they actually contributed was they force the bureaucrats and the planning professionals, like myself, to articulate what they are thinking all the way through. Planning professionals like to make distinctions very quickly. They like to make them in their head and put them down on paper and take them and get them approved. Having the Working Committee involved forced that process to come out and left it open for questioning, at least among a somewhat limited forum. So that's the third important part of the planning process for St. Lawrence.

Fourthly, another key element was to abandon what I call formalistic planning. Most plans and projects have to go through the process of a proponent who takes them to the planners who then say, "Ah, it doesn't meet the regulations. It has to be changed this way. It has to be changed that way." There is a whole formalistic set of planning rules which we have created in our society to turn projects into an appropriate kind of city. In St. Lawrence, we abandoned that process from Day One. We said we don't know what the rules are. We don't even know what density means. What we are going to do here is try to draw and design the right kind of city or part of the city. Then we are going to go back and figure out how dense it is so that we can then create the rules that theoretically you need to approve this thing in an Official Plan and zoning by-law. That is precisely what we did.

I was the planner and I was working with a bunch of architects and designers. It took a long time for me to accept that this process was actually the right way to do it, but in fact, it turned out to be the only way we could have planned the project. We worked from built form to density rather than the other way around.

We also embraced innovation. We said well let's leave ourselves open to think anything. Let's not be afraid of thinking anything in this process and see what it turns out to be. We were not going to be bound, by convention. As it turns we didn't do anything particularly revolutionary, but at least we had lots of interesting discussions.

The final point that drove the planning process was being prepared to be bold and to draw a three dimensional plan that we then turned into an Official Plan and Zoning Bylaw. I think this was the most critical part of the success of St. Lawrence. We worked out a site plan. We then drew it. We said this is exactly what it is going to look like. The very first St. Lawrence axonometric drawing was drawn in the office in which we worked. The neighbourhood now looks very much like that drawing. In other words, we said "This is what it is going to look like."

In planning school you learn to preserve flexibility. You don't know exactly what it is going to look like. You don't want to be too sure. It is going to take a long time to build. Things will change. You have no idea what the requirements are going to be in ten years time but you know you have to make the plan. I think that position is garbage. It is necessary for planners at the beginning to be at least brave enough to say "We think this is what our plan is going to look like" and draw it. And then be brave enough to show it to whoever wants to come and look. Make a model, if you like, and say, "This is what we think it is going to look like". And then build a zoning by-law, an Official Plan and say that's what we are going to get. Of course, you can always go and change it. I guess in some places in St. Lawrence they in fact, have.

The notion of the linear park was very un-Toronto and we thought that was a bit brave. You must not be afraid to take on something you think is a little different. Designers have to be brave; we had some pretty brave and good designers. We felt very strongly that we were building something that was going to last at least two hundred years. We weren't really interested in the next ten years, though we had to pay lots of lip service to it. We were determined to do something one step better than Alexandra Park, the last public intervention in Toronto, and I think we achieved that. We were both both tremendously ambitious and tremendously humble at the same time.

Finally, I have one point for the planners of Ataritari. We were really passionate about what we were doing. We did it day and night and morning. We fell in love with what we were doing and we had a really good time. That is all I have to say.

Paul Bedford:

The next respondent is Mr. Ray Spaxman who I think is no stranger to many of you. Ray is now with the Center for Human Settlements at U.B.C. and has been there just under a year. Prior to that, he was the Commissioner of Planning for the City of Vancouver for a total of approximately sixteen years. He survived many battles and has many stories to tell the people that are interested in that length of tenure. Before he went to Vancouver he was the Deputy Chief Planner for the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department and was clearly instrumental in many of the various directions that the City took in the 1970's. Ray also indicated to me that in the past year he had the opportunity to spend some time in Shanghai to advise the planners there how to prepare a zoning bylaw for the city of Shanghai, China. Quite a challenge.

Ray Spaxman, Speaker:

It is nice to be back in Toronto. It is also pleasant to reflect on what has been said so far today, because I disagree with quite a bit of it, which is also energy making at the beginning of a conference. I was not involved in the planning for Moss Park or Regent Park but I was involved in Trefann Court and Donvale. I went through a very extensive process on Metro Centre which, in fact, never got built but produced some of the social, physical, and economic goals which led to the work that came later. Let's remember that all these projects are just part of a long process. Intelligent people who get involved gain knowledge from what went before, noticing that a lot of mistakes continue to be made.

I look at all these projects with great care because I don't think there is a perfect scheme anywhere out there. There are lots of schemes fortunately which are more successful than others; we can learn from their successes and we can also learn from their mistakes. I was reminded of that very forcefully when David showed his slides of False Creek, because I tend to show the slides of False Creek which are the successful parts or the ones that have been remedied since we discovered they didn't work. David is still showing the early phases, the roads not working and some of those other things which fortunately were revised. Nevertheless, there were mistakes of judgement at the time about the amount of traffic that was anticipated in the area.

I have a little bit of difficulty with Frank's thoughts, if I understood them properly. Is it when the design looked good, you did the plan and then you showed it to people and then you built it? I still don't know what the plan is for the next community that I am planning or what the City of Vancouver is planning. The idea is to bring your best thoughts and principles together with those of other people in the whole system. Out of that process comes a plan which is very difficult to forecast.

"In the beginning"-- I like the use of some of the language here. Notice, for example, that David's presentation compares Toronto to parks of 19th century Britain. This reminded me of some of my earlier work in Britain, which was trying to handle the dreadful consequences of various "intelligent" plans from the 19th century and early 20th century. We must learn from those mistakes of the 19th century. I notice that we are on a terrible treadmill of trying to be relevant at a particular time. The only way to be relevant at a particular time is to share all that knowledge with all the people. I enjoyed the part of the initial presentation which showed that the whole development of any city is a partnership.

St. Lawrence appears to be the Industrial Revolution being developed again. I liken the Amsterdam example to Le Corbusier. It is the form of totalitarianism. False Creek, in Vancouver, is medieval with human qualities. Christopher Alexander still has profound things to say about what spaces are and how they function when human beings get into them. Camillio Sitte was trying to struggle to find the same definitions of function and space.

There are lots of clues which tells us to avoid the rigidity that comes from much of what planners do, in order to simplify their three-dimensional understanding into things that they can model easily. There is an enormous challenge in understanding the differences between an architectural concept, a social concept and a political concept and all the other people who are involved in creating these spaces. Some spaces which other people like, we do not like.

I cannot help but notice again that in regional differences we have to be aware that the European sense of space and comfort is inevitably different from the North American one. I notice very strongly too that the Toronto system of creating spaces is different from the West Coast one. The way people feel comfortable in space has partly to do with what they are used to and partly with what they have had to put up with in recent times and then grown used to. That pressure is why False Creek has a low density, because the people of Vancouver could not tolerate high densities. They were afraid of higher density because they were used to living in very low densities. I would guess that Vancouver is half the overall density of Toronto. Row houses were looked upon as things to be feared in Vancouver, but Torontonians are used to living in row housing. When South False Creek came along, there was a lot of trying to combine what the planners and architects wanted and what Christopher Alexander would advise us to have, with what the local community would find acceptable.

The land is probably the most important thing we have. It is not adequate to simply shove human aspirations on top of the land. Topography, land form, views and ecology are now coming into vogue again. In South False Creek, we thought we were being very environmentally sensitive. We had the new reform Council coming in at the same time Crombie's Council was elected in Toronto. We thought we were being reform oriented, but we did not understand at that time the impact of PCB's under the ground, for example. We now understand that better.

We will learn increasingly to be increasingly environmentally sensitive. It won't be medieval architecture. It will be 19th century architecture. It won't be Corbusian architecture. Hopefully, it will be architecture and planning which is derived from continuing our sensitivity to all the forces which are at work and the new understanding that we come to as a consequence. I tend to enjoy what happened in the past a great deal and think about what we must concentrate on as we go into the future.

In addition to understanding the place that we are in, increasingly we must understand the size of our world and the global population pressures that affect our local communities. In Vancouver that pressure is a big thing and for you it is a big thing, too. It is a continual struggle to increase density in response to an increasing pressure to grow. There is a whole question coming about why are we continuing to grow? Fortunately, in one sense the planners in the cities must continue to plan for that growth. We have no choice. But somehow as human beings, we are going to have to worry about what we are doing about the whole question of growth. If we continue to grow, we will continue to find it difficult to build a place that we can live in comfortably. We have to worry about why there is this continual pursuit of something which seems inevitably to lead to disaster. My conclusion is that we have to learn how we can carry on into the future, continuing to be logical and scientific in our attitudes. As I say to my students, you are so fortunate to be in school now because you have twice as much information available than I did, thirty years ago.

Unfortunately, we are finding increasing use of the idea of the intuitive solution, and the intuitive solution relates a lot to ethics and values. So consensus building in all new developments will be again one of the primary targets. We are getting better at that as the years go by, and I believe in South False Creek in the north False Creek area that we can do better if we are concerned with these things.

The other thing that is so strong about these new communities, which have been successful, is having faith in public intervention. I know on the West Coast it is sometimes harder to argue the case for public intervention. From my point of view, without public intervention we will not develop the communities that we need to live in the future. Together with that confidence in our ability to build a community we must have the humility to recognize the mistakes that we make. We must search for good ideas from all the participants in the process.

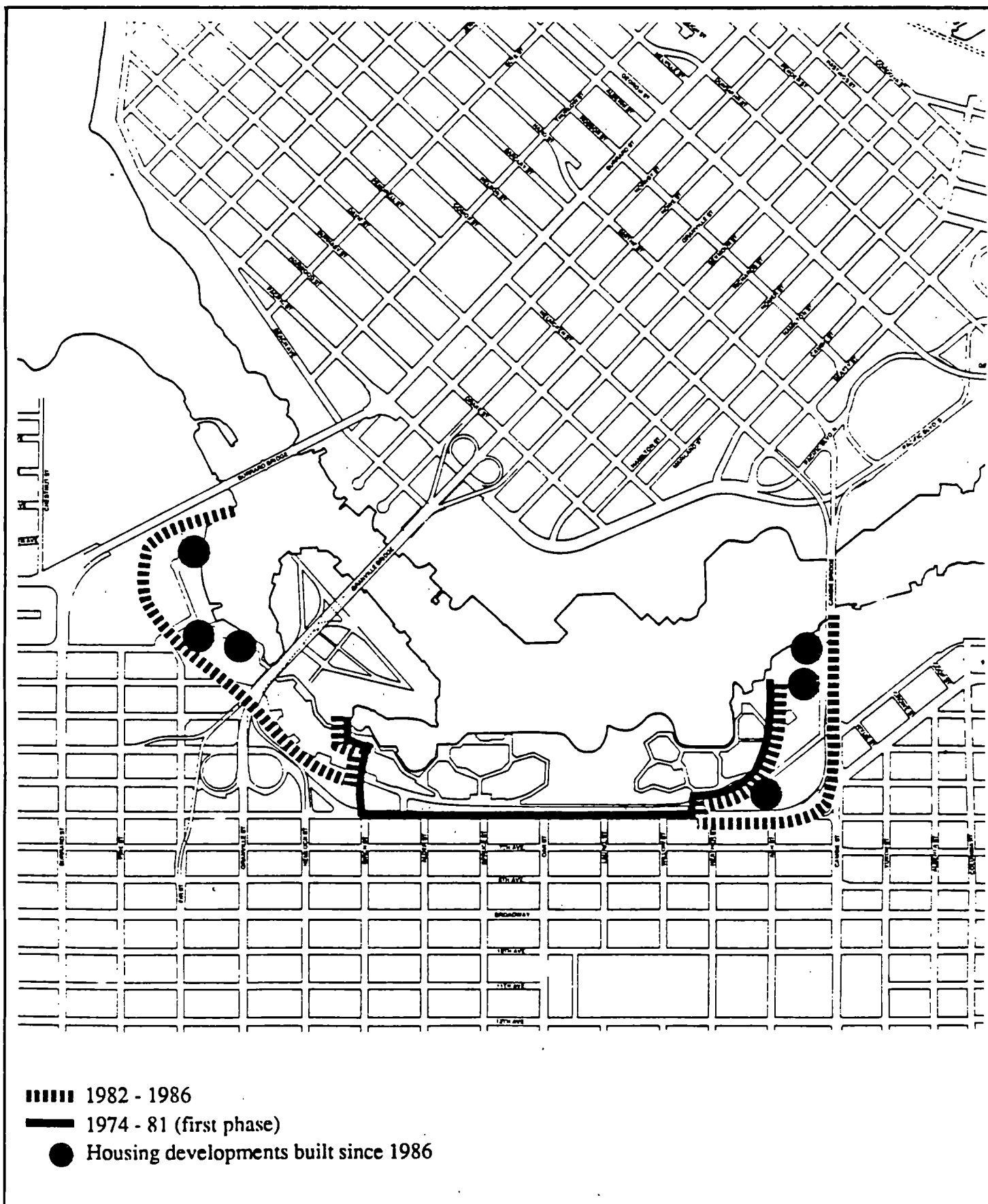


FIGURE 3-5

False Creek, Vancouver

Source: City of Vancouver Planning Department

And then finally, as everybody who has been in City Hall knows, there is no point in being right if you are not being supported. You have to somehow get on the wave that is there. Deflect it if you can, but you have to ride it. In Shanghai for example, the planners were desperate because however much they tried to ride in the direction they wanted to go, they were driven by their masters. In one sense, that is no different from the way I felt when I was in City Hall.

Paul Bedford:

Our last respondent is the Commissioner of Planning for the City of Toronto, Mr. Bob Millward. Bob has been Commissioner for a little over two years and prior to that was the Director of Central Core and Waterfront in the Planning Department. He spent several years as the City of Toronto Housing Department's first Director of Planning where he was responsible for planning the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. Finally, reaching back one more career he was also in the City of New York Planning Department in various capacities as the Director of Planning for Staten Island Borough.

Bob Millward, Speaker:

It is nice to be here this afternoon. It is nice to see a lot of current colleagues but also former colleagues that worked together on the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood some years ago. I found David's paper quite helpful and provocative. I enjoyed Frank's and Ray's comments as well. For me, the most important part of thinking about St. Lawrence is the comment that, what we were trying to do was create a neighbourhood. It wasn't a building. I think the ultimate test is: Does it work as a neighbourhood? Is it part of the City?

For me, it does work as a neighbourhood but I would be interested in hearing from local people. The true determinants of success are not planners, but the people who actually live there and who do not know the names of the individuals or the departments that had something to do with getting it built.

The site plan fits in the Toronto context in the mid '70s. I share Ray's notion that the context evolves. There are fads in site plans, as you can see from the Amsterdam model. That was the brightest thinking then, and it went awry for reasons that are now pretty obvious, but it may not have been at the time. We do catch a wave. We catch a fad and you go with it. Many of the people who worked on St. Lawrence in the 70's came from other places. We really dedicated ourselves to working out a neighbourhood plan that was Toronto in the '70s. It wasn't lifting something from Paris or from New York or from Amsterdam or even Vancouver. It worked and it felt like Toronto. I think that ultimately it is a legacy for the City and part of that Toronto context.

The most powerful advice I could give people working on Ataratiri and others working on the creation of new neighbourhoods, is what I would call a commitment to quality. To make sure that whatever you do is done absolutely well. Frank talked about 200 years but I didn't think that long. At one level it was our own pride. At another level it was observing the public interventions in this City and elsewhere from previous decades and watching public housing projects go sour for now obvious reasons. It is important to make sure that whatever you are building is absolutely the best. Then it will survive. The best gets defined by each of you in slightly different ways, but there has to be that sort of overriding commitment to quality.

I remember the struggles that we had as staff in 1975 dealing with something that was called the C.M.H.C. Site Planning Handbook. This was a post war document to guide suburban development presumably in the outlying parts of cities all across Canada. The C.M.H.C. people who were heavily involved in funding St. Lawrence couldn't understand why the people who were talking about St. Lawrence didn't want to adhere to the Handbook. We kept saying the Handbook is irrelevant. It doesn't fit. We will rewrite your handbook and bring it to up to date as an urban handbook. It was a continuing struggle because the C.M.H.C. people had a job to do with the best of intentions, and they were trying to apply their standards. It was impossible to create something or do something else and not force all of the regulations to change. As Frank said, you give up a bit on formalistic planning. You push the boundaries.

Ataratiri will have to be the same in its own way and fifteen years later. You do have to rely on citizens and on politicians (as imperfect as all of those people are) to achieve a consensus as to what makes the most sense for that time. However, the commitment to quality is what I would urge with Rick Peddie, Dan Burns and Ross Winter as the three officials in the Housing Department who are going to carry a lot of that responsibility for making Ataratiri work. I would urge you to fight pressures for funding and environmental concerns and political and community concern. Keep pushing to make sure that what gets built is the best that you can possibly do. Also, don't rely on any of the sort of systems or standards or controls that are in place as being good enough. You are going to have to push.

Building today is harder than it was fifteen years ago. St. Lawrence was an achievement of a number of people with a lot of hard work and with a mission. I think we know a lot more about what is in the ground and we are committed more to caring about environmental issues that we did in 1974-75. It adds to the complexity and that makes the problems even greater. It suggests that the site plan will not be a repeat of what was appropriate fifteen years ago. It does suggest that you have a serious challenge ahead.

Statement From The Floor

I would like to take issue with David Hulchanski's presentation of alternatives outside of Canada. I am not questioning the comparison of Vancouver with St. Lawrence, but I think there are some absolutely superb examples of excellent urban development and urban design, housing, etc in Western Europe which Dr. Hulchanski has not really considered or presented. The impression that I obtained from his presentation is that in North America we are so far ahead of other countries. The fact of the matter is, that if one wants to really look carefully, there are examples in northwestern Europe that are far superior to either St. Lawrence or certainly comparable with False Creek in a variety of ways: both inner city and new suburban areas, redevelopment projects, mixed projects and so on. The issue really requires more rigorous attention, especially since the presentation is to an audience which includes a whole generation of young planners, some of whom have never seen or haven't yet had the opportunity to experience some of the examples that exist outside this country.



4. DESIGNING ST. LAWRENCE

4. DESIGNING ST. LAWRENCE

Mitchell Kosny:

It is a pleasure for the Institute, the School of Urban Planning, the City and C.M.H.C. to sponsor and co-host this conference. For those of you who were here yesterday afternoon, I think we got off to a good start in terms of looking at planning St. Lawrence as well as other, similar developments both in Canada and abroad. For those of you who are joining us this morning, let me welcome for you the first time.

On behalf on the School of Urban and Regional Planning, I think that holding the Conference at Ryerson and our role in it is particularly appropriate. It goes back to our involvement with the City the Neighbourhoods Conference five years ago and builds on that. We will be talking today about design, the financial elements, and hearing comments and the views of the people who live and have worked in the St. Lawrence community. The design elements, the economic impacts will be analysed as we do in the School of Planning, which exemplifies the broad score and wide view of what urban planning is all about. It is very much a reflection of our School and our own program.

The goal of learning from St. Lawrence is to apply some of the lessons from that community to Ataratiri and other neighbourhoods. Precedents such as St. Lawrence are a principal teaching tool in our School of Urban and regional planning is an applied discipline.

Pam Hitchcock:

I would like to welcome everybody on behalf of the Conference Committee and the School.

This morning, I have the opportunity and the pleasure of introducing the moderator, Marc Baraness. Marc is the Director of Urban Design and Architecture, for the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. Fifteen years ago, before he arrived in Toronto, he had been working in Paris on some block studies of housing and residential areas similar to some of the things that were being planned for the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Marc Baraness, Moderator:

My task is to try to introduce the first presentation Designing St. Lawrence. As a format, we have decided to cut the session into two parts.

The first part will be a presentation by Steven Fong and David Gordon. Then we will have some questions and clarification of this presentation. Then there will be a panel discussion with three people. First, I would like to introduce the speakers. Stephan Fong, who is an architect, has been mainly educated in the U.S. and presently is Director of the Architectural Program at the University of Toronto. He is also working on the Building and Block study for the Ataratiri project. His comments on St. Lawrence might be particularly insightful to the work that he is doing presently.

David Gordon is an urban planner and a civil engineer. He is Director of Planning and Development at the Kirkland Partnership. He teaches Urban design at the University of Toronto Architectural Program and also at Ryerson in the Urban and Regional Planning Program. There is also a little twist, he has been a resident of St. Lawrence since 1984. He brings to his own professional qualifications some kind of personal dimension to this program.

4.1 PAPER: DESIGNING ST. LAWRENCE

by Steven Fong, Chair, Programme in Architecture, University of Toronto
and David Gordon, Director of Planning and Development, The Kirkland Partnership

4.1.1 Introduction

If the St. Lawrence district had been developed a decade prior to the beginning of its planning process in 1974, then it would surely have had a markedly different physical form and most likely a less successful social outcome. Certainly, the basic agenda to providing affordable housing in the downtown had not changed in that decade. However, in the recent past, good intentions by municipal housing authorities in North American cities had provided dismal, problem-ridden neighbourhoods such as Toronto's Moss Park (1960) and Pruitt Igoe, St. Louis' notorious urban renewal project that was demolished in 1970. (See Figure 4-1)

What made the development of the St. Lawrence district different in 1974, was a confluence of local political will, sound planning principles, and emerging urban design theory that respected the traditional city. The apportioned role of any one of these factors is a matter of interpretation, and perhaps even professional bias, and this paper seeks to present a particular interpretation of their relative influence by describing the 1) theoretical context, 2) the design process, and 3) an assessment of the design results.

We will focus on Phases A and B of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, primarily because these constitute the most coherent and similar characteristics to discuss in the brief span of this paper, and because they are also focused on housing.

Our readings of the various design studies commissioned by the Housing Department of the City of Toronto has lead us to believe that there were three critical conceptual phases to the project, and further that these three visions each have continued presence in the St. Lawrence district.

- 1) Townscape/The New Town. The initial proposal (May, 1974) implied relatively small-scale buildings, connected by grade-level paths, with distinctive design features (special lighting, etc.) that served to distinguish the St. Lawrence development from other Toronto neighbourhoods. (See Figure 4-2)
- 2) The Futurist City. Zeidler Partnership Architects, in their Design Guidelines study (April 1975), proposed a series of large-scale buildings unified by above-grade circulation. (See Figure 4-3). This vision identified specific architectural elements that would in turn establish St. Lawrence as a distinct precinct.
- 3) Townscape/Toronto. The Block Study (October 1975) presents an argument for using the Toronto's typical streets and blocks as design prototypes. (See Figure 4-4) Circulation is street-related, and the neighbourhood is conceived as an extension of the existing city pattern with respect to dimensions and proposed uses.

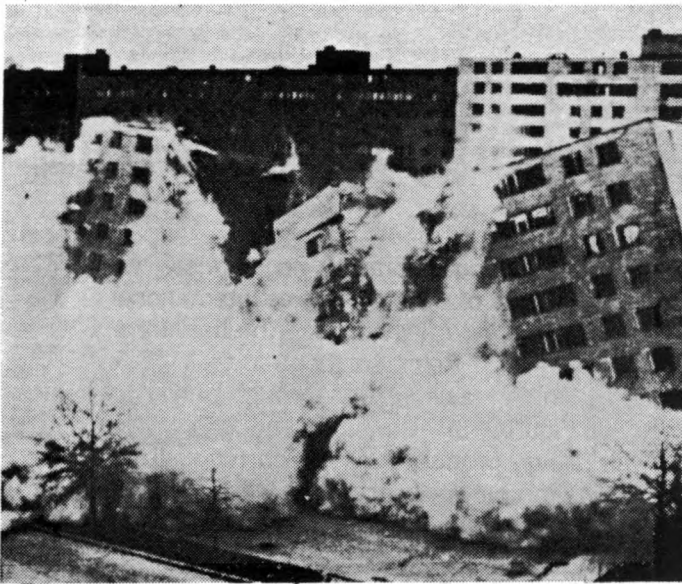


FIGURE 4-1 Demolition of Fruit Igoe



FIGURE 4-2 Initial St. Lawrence Proposal

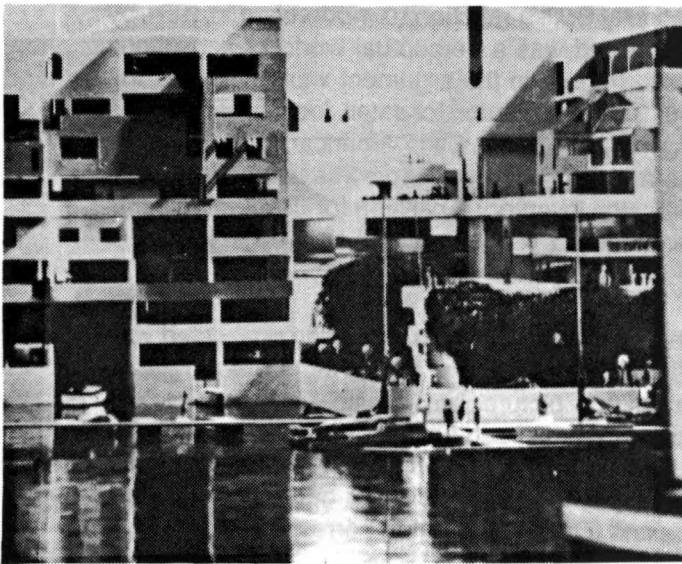


FIGURE 4-3 The Futurist City

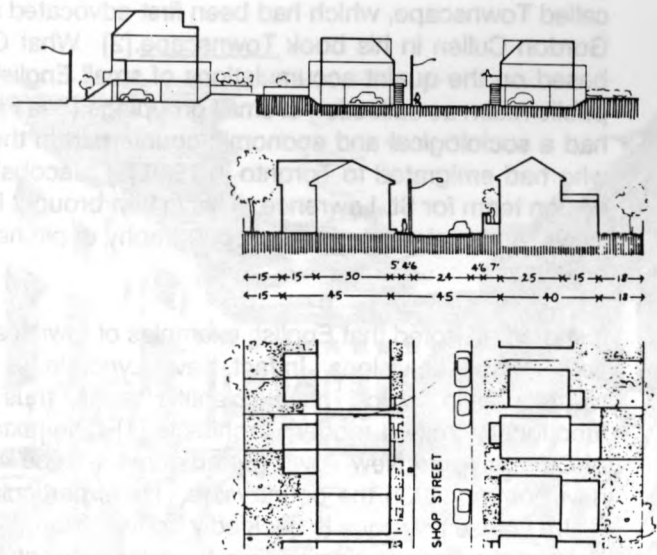


FIGURE 4-4 Townscape/Toronto

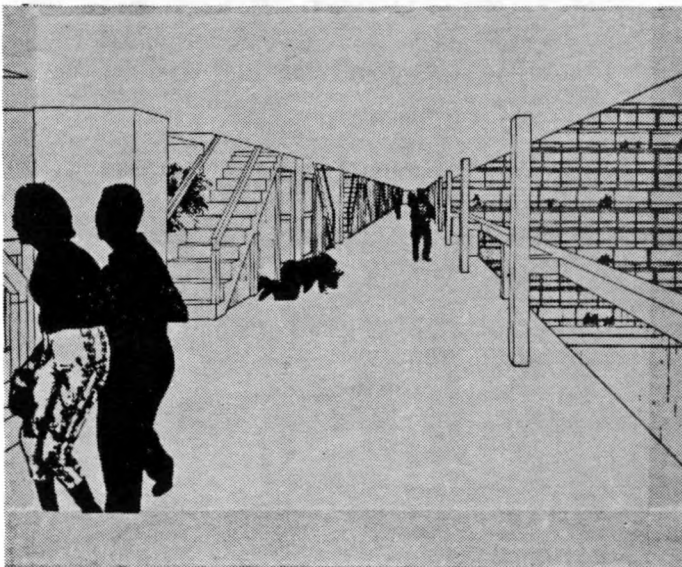


FIGURE 4-5 Streets in the Air/Team 10

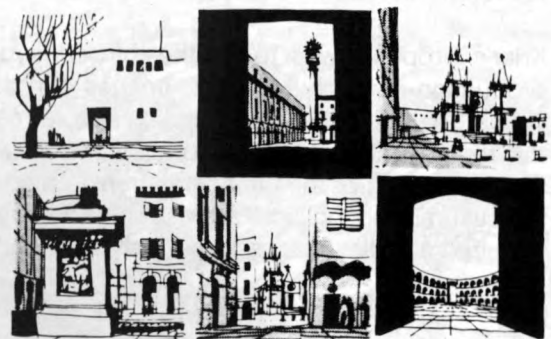


FIGURE 4-6 Townscape/Gordon Cullen

4.1.2 Theoretical and Political Context

Urban Design Theory

The vision of St. Lawrence as a venue for futurist architectural rhetoric should come as no surprise. An entire generation of designers had been raised under the theoretical wings of CIAM (Congres International Architecture Moderne). Its most vocal member, Le Corbusier, called for the destruction of the traditional street. An equally persuasive challenge to CIAM was raised by Alison and Peter Smithson in their book Team 10 Primer.^[1] Writing in 1968, the Smithsons championed separation of circulation through providing a series of interconnected, above-grade pedestrian walkways (See Figure 4-5). The futurist agenda would include visions of a world of optimum servicing of spaces, with design proposals based on rationalized delivery systems of essential services and an unimpeded transportation network separated into modes of use. In this scenario, the generalized answer to design problems would always provide adequate solutions to specific circumstances.

However, political events in Toronto would usher in a group of reform politicians and public officials suspicious of such visions. Designers sought other, more normative visions. This included an urban theory called Townscape, which had been first advocated as a distinctly British reaction to modernism in 1961 by Gordon Cullen in his book Townscape.^[2] What Cullen proposed was a perceptual world of sensations based on the quaint accumulations of small English villages. Implicit in the argument was a belief in the public realm as collection of small groupings. (See Figure 4-6) This predilection for small, local organizations had a sociological and economic counterpart in the writings of Jane Jacobs, the American urban theorist who had emigrated to Toronto in 1968.^[3] Jacobs' implicit advocacy of townscape was influential on the design team for St. Lawrence. This in turn brought into the design inventory a passion for developing serial views, and preference for the iconography of pitched roofs, arched passageways and articulated pieces of buildings.

It should be noted that English examples of townscape were common at this time, and even co-existed with earlier, futuristic visions. In fact, Kevin Lynch in his book The Image of the City, (1960) attempted to define townscape in logical quasi-scientific terms, thus rendering this picturesque sensibility accessible for functionally-trained modern architects.^[4] The juxtapositions of images can be startling, as in two images of Cumbernauld New Town (See Figures 4-7 and 4-8), an English scheme (1956) to develop a completely new community in the countryside. Here, particularly noteworthy is the sensibility of conflating a private realm whose physique is decidedly derived from townscape and a public realm that corresponds to futurist visions of rationalization and large-scale architectural motifs.

Up until approximately 1974, the forgoing account of respective positions described the general lay of the land in urban design circles. However, it was during this year that Leon Krier, an urban theorist teaching at the Architectural Association in London, England, presented a startling proposal for the Royal Mint Square Housing Competition in London.^[5] The scheme offered a highly formed, neo-classical vision of public space, with both preservation of existing buildings and a typologically distinct use of perimeter buildings that reinforced traditional street patterns in the area. (See Figure 4-9)

Krier's proposal was to be the thin edge of the wedge for what would eventually become a prolific production of highly evocative images of a neoclassical city. His brother, Rob Krier, produced the book Urban Space in 1977, a full-scale, call-to-arms in support of the traditional pattern of streets.^[6] Certainly, this theoretical championing of the street was part of a larger social vision that included the youth culture, where the idea of the street was transformed from a somewhat unsavoury entity into the preferred venue for cultural and political activism. (See Figure 4-10) In making these connections, the traditional street acquired a radical cachet previously assigned to high rise slabs and streets in the air.



FIGURE 4-7

Cumbernauld Housing

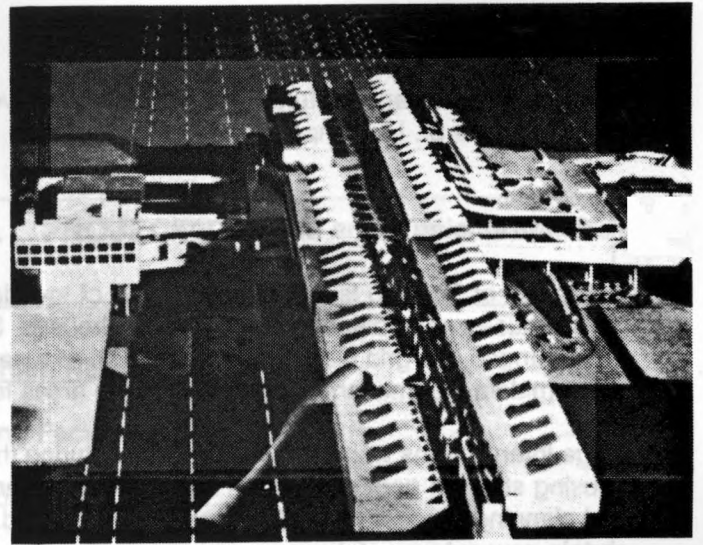


FIGURE 4-8

Cumbernauld Town Centre

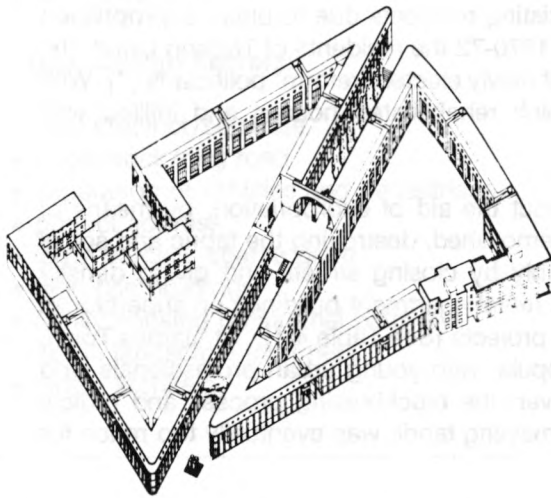


FIGURE 4-9

Leon Krier, Royal Mint Square



FIGURE 4-10

Rob Krier, Urban Space



FIGURE 4-11

Typical Toronto Residential Street

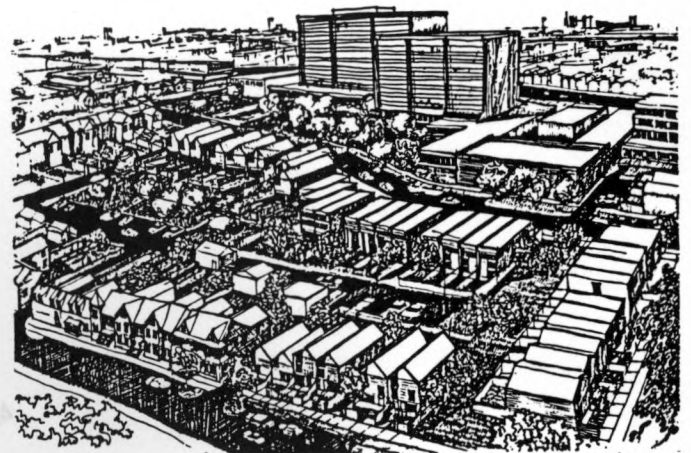


FIGURE 4-12

Trefann Court Urban Renewal

It is in the social and cultural context of these developments that we would like to discuss the design process of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Toronto Housing in the Early 1970's

The fabric of Toronto is largely composed of low density neighbourhoods comprised of small lot single family houses, semi-detached units and row houses. Streets are typically 20 metres (66 feet) wide, tree-lined and arranged in a grid plan (See Figure 4-11). Houses are often made of brick and date from 1880 to 1930. Many middle income families deserted these areas for the new suburbs in the 1950's.

Large interventions were made in this fabric during the 1950's and 1960's to add new housing and replace housing stock in poor condition. High density, highrise apartment blocks were supported by the political and planning process, especially when they replaced substandard housing stock or increased density near certain new subway stations.

Urban renewal projects started with Regent Park North in the late 1940's and progressed to Regent Park South, Moss Park and Alexandra Park in 1968. Public agencies expropriated large areas, demolished the houses, closed the streets and erected low income public housing buildings in a "superblock" pattern. These projects were initially supported because they replaced old housing in poor conditions ("slums") with new apartments. They eventually lost political support from existing residents due to unfair expropriation practices and concerns about creating low income ghettos. In 1970-72 the residents of Trefann Court, the next urban renewal proposal, stopped the scheme with the aid of newly elected "reform" politicians.[7] With the aid of new city planners, they developed a scheme which rehabilitated houses and infilled with street-related townhouses.(See Figure 4-12)

The private sector engaged in large scale land assembly without the aid of expropriation, by means of "blockbusting". Cheap inner city homes were bought up and demolished, destroying the fabric and social cohesion of the neighbourhood. The City aided land assembly by closing streets and giving density bonuses for large parcel developments. The resulting high rise rental apartment buildings on superblocks shared many characteristics with public housing urban renewal projects (See Table 4-1). St. James Town, Yonge/Eglinton and the Quebec/Gothic areas were initially popular with young urban professionals who valued their convenient subway access to downtown. However, the blockbusting process and radical difference in scale between the highrise apartments and the remaining fabric was eventually too much for the political process to bear.[8]

TABLE 4-1

COMPARISON OF URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS AND NEW URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS

Blockbusting/Urban Renewal Project

Planning Factors:

- Single income group (low/moderate)
- single tenure (rental)
- single developer
- single management and owner
- separation of land uses
- high density
- site clearance and redevelopment
- master plan

Urban Design Factors:

- new precinct/separate
- superblock/ring road
- separation of vehicles and pedestrians
- project address
- large parcels, coarse grain
- high rise buildings
- family housing on internal pathways
- single landscape treatment
- single architect

New Urban Neighbourhood

Planning Factors:

- mix of income groups
- mix of tenures (co-op,condo,rental)
- variety of developers
- diversified management and owner
- mixed use development
- high density
- preservation of existing buildings
- site plan and urban design guidelines

Urban Design Factors:

- extension of the city fabric
- extension of the street grid
- street as focus of activity
- address from a street
- small parcels, fine grain
- low/medium rise buildings
- family housing on local streets
- many landscape treatments
- many architects

The return of middle income families to the inner city brought an end to urban renewal and blockbusting. As they purchased and rehabilitated ("whitepainted") blocks of the Annex, Riverdale and High Park, they drove up the price of property, making assembly more expensive in both financial and political terms. The middle income purchasers saw the traditional neighbourhoods as inexpensive alternatives to suburbia with convenient locations, good services and charm. With a little sandblasting and white paint, they became popular homes for families and children.

The new residents were politically active and joined forces with the remaining low income owners to preserve their neighbourhoods. In 1970, the first "reform" aldermen were elected to represent their views; by 1972 they had a slim majority on City Council and a new Mayor, David Crombie. Blockbusting and urban renewal were dead; creating more inner city family housing would require a new development process.

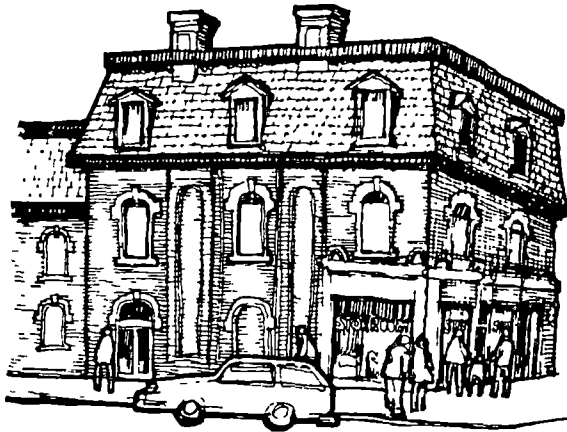
The Political Climate in Toronto

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is the result of a deliberate policy decision by a municipal government, rather than a private sector land assembly such as St. James Town or an accidental public ownership such as Harbourfront. The 1972 municipal election returned a "reform" majority to City Council; their values included the preservation of traditional city neighbourhoods, a concern for housing suitable for families and a strong dislike of highrise rental apartments and public housing projects. One of the first actions by the new Council was to establish a Housing Work Group, whose report, Living Room [9] is the seminal document for recent housing policy in Toronto.

The report was largely prepared by Michael Dennis, the new Mayor's housing policy advisor and Howard Cohen, a young planner who had been responsible for the Trefann Court Plan.

Living Room recommended that the City of Toronto get back into the housing business to address the needs of low and moderate income families. It adopted the reformers' values of neighbourhood preservation, stating that traditional Toronto neighbourhoods were particularly comfortable for families with children as a result of their street-related form, local schools, public parks and shops. The reformers were comfortable with low-rise, architecturally diverse neighbourhoods such as Riverdale, the Annex and the Beach; they wanted new housing developments to emulate them. The touchstone of the new reform Council (and new planners) was Jane Jacobs, an Annex resident whose book Death and Life of Great American Cities had lauded the street life of her native Greenwich Village, while attacking modern urban renewal schemes.[10]

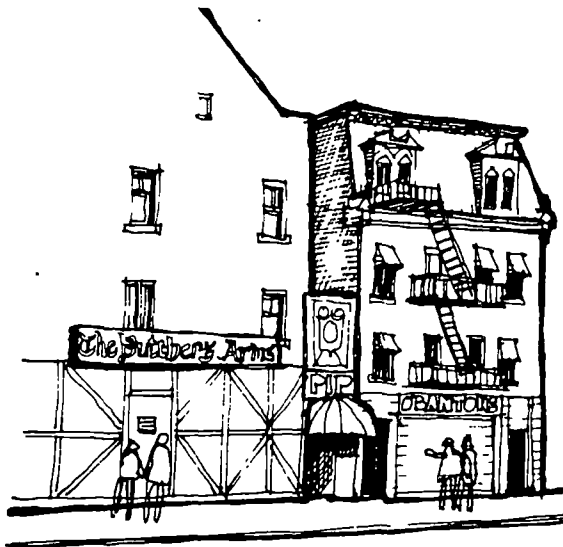
The reformers and planners also wanted to produce a significant number of new housing units in a hurry. A new Housing Department was established; Michael Dennis was appointed as its Commissioner. Targets for low and moderate income housing were set, and land banking was advocated. When Living Room was adopted by Council in December 1973, staff were authorized to obtain options on large inexpensive sites suitable for family housing. By May 1974, the St. Lawrence acquisition was underway. Five years later, the first residents moved in. By the standards of the Toronto development process, this timing was remarkably fast and could only occur with staff and political consensus at every level of government. The second critical ingredient was large quantities of federal housing money, which will be addressed in another paper.



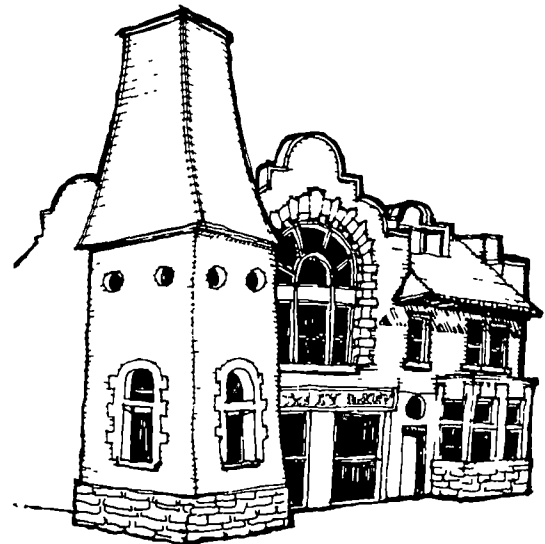
COMMERCIAL • SHERBOURNE & KING



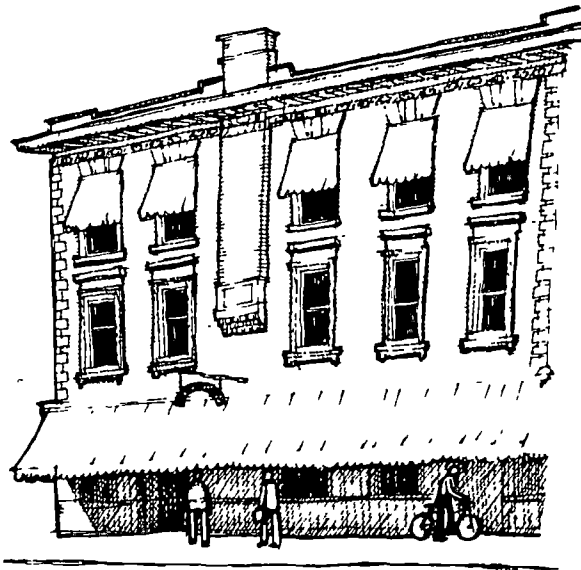
COMMERCIAL/RESIDENTIAL • KING & BERKELEY



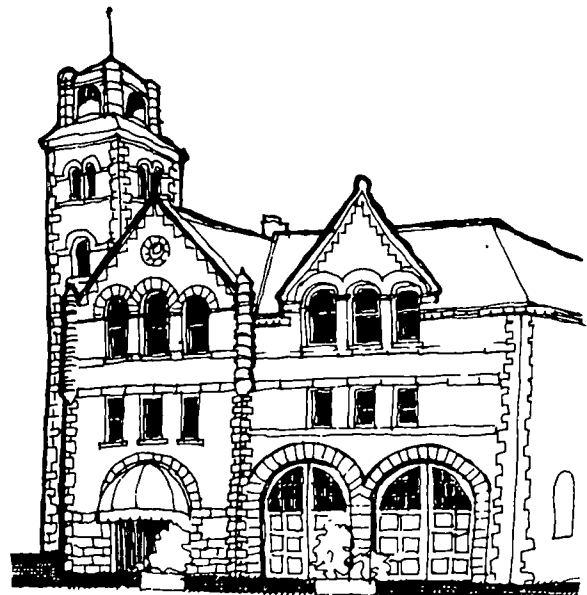
PUB AND RESTAURANTS • JARVIS & FRONT



FIRE HALL THEATRE • BERKELEY



JARVIS HOUSE • PUB ON JARVIS STREET



FIRE HALL TAVERN • LOMBARD STREET

FIGURE 4-13.

Renovation and Remodeling in St. Lawrence

4.1.3 Designing the Site Plan

Existing Conditions

In 1974, the City of Toronto wanted to acquire large parcels of inexpensive land for development of family housing at medium density, in order to meet its new housing objectives. Robert Millward, Director of Planning for CityHome states that "St. Lawrence virtually selected itself, in the manner in which it met various criteria." [11] The 44 acre assembly was located close to downtown and its immediate neighbour was the old St. Lawrence district, a commercial and institutional area undergoing some revival (see Figure 4-13).

At the time of acquisition, most of the site had been used for low intensity activities such as car parking, truck depots, scrap yards and warehousing. Much of the land was in public hands and the private parcels were relatively large, making land assembly somewhat easier. The St. Lawrence site was by no means attractive; with hindsight, it is surprising to see such a wasteland so close to the C.B.D. (see Figure 4-14). There were few structures on the site and two warehouses on Front Street appeared to be the only buildings of significance.

Historic Context

While the St. Lawrence site itself had little appeal in 1974, the surrounding area had considerable historic significance. Front Street was the original shoreline of Lake Ontario and the 10 blocks north of the site, (bounded by Front, Jarvis, Adelaide, and Ontario streets) were the original (1793) townsite of York. No traces of the original townsite remain except for the streets and their 300 foot wide blocks.

The market and two City Halls for the young city were built near Jarvis and Front and have been restored for public use. In the 19th century, the land south of Front Street was filled to form The Esplanade ' a broad public boulevard and walkway along the water's edge. The Esplanade was given to the railways as a right of way in the 1890's and the entire area south of Front Street gradually developed for industrial uses, as shown in the Figures 4-15 and 4-16.

The area surrounding the St. Lawrence site had a large number of significant buildings giving the area an importance which belied its transitional industrial uses in 1974 (See Figures 4-13 and Table 4-2).

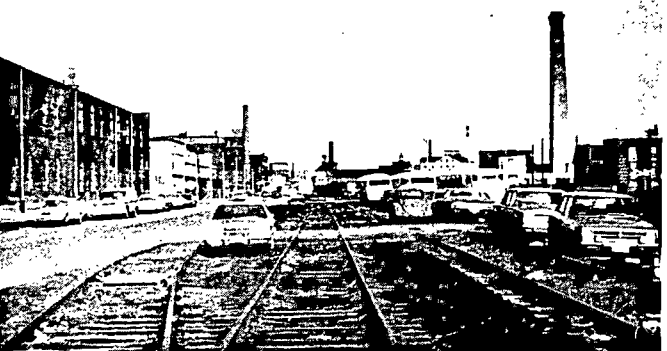


FIGURE 4-14

St. Lawrence Site Original Conditions

TABLE 4-2

SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS IN THE ST. LAWRENCE AREA		
<u>Building</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>1989 Use</u>
St. Lawrence Market	Front and Jarvis	Farmers' & Commercial Market
St. Lawrence Hall	King and Jarvis	Assembly Hall, Commercial
Front Street	between Scott and Market	Retail, office, restaurants
St. James Cathedral	King and Church	Anglican Cathedral
Berkeley Castle	Esplanade and Berkeley	Office and retail
Consumers' Gas	Front and Berkeley	Canadian Stage
		Tannenbaum Opera Centre
Gooderham Building	Front and Church	Office and retail
Warehouses	King and George	George Brown College
TTC Streetcar Barn	Front and Frederick	Young People's Theatre
St. Lawrence Centre	Front and Scott	Theatre, music
O'Keefe Centre	Front and Yonge	Ballet, opera, theatre

The Initial St. Lawrence Report

The initial St. Lawrence Report (June 1974) set out general planning goals for the project:

- create a new downtown neighbourhood which avoids the "public project" image
- the first two phases would house between 7,000 and 9,000 people in approximately 2,600-3,700 units.
- a substantial proportion of the units would be family accommodation.
- encourage a broad mix of uses, people, dwelling types and tenures.

Housing for low and moderate income groups was stressed.

The initial report identified noise, downtown traffic and industrial pollution as potential problems. There was also considerable discussion of the need to preserve surrounding industrial areas and integrate housing and industrial uses.

However, the initial report had very little discussion of the built form or design criteria for St. Lawrence. The main concern seemed to be that the neighbourhood not look like a public housing project. Medium density, medium rise development was implied, with an overall density of 2.0 times net area and 1.65 times the gross site area.

There were many sketches of the renovated buildings in the surrounding area and the preservation of historic buildings was a stated objective. However, the only indication of what the future might bring were two sketches showing medium rise apartments over shops, with a vague hint of modern English new town design (See Figure 4-17). Fifteen years later, it is possible to measure the actual density of the final built form. The statistical profile in Appendix B of the proceedings shows that St. Lawrence is actually considerably denser with an average net density of 4.0x and a gross density of 2.3 times the site area. These densities, which may have seemed high in 1974, were somewhat by special zoning provisions.

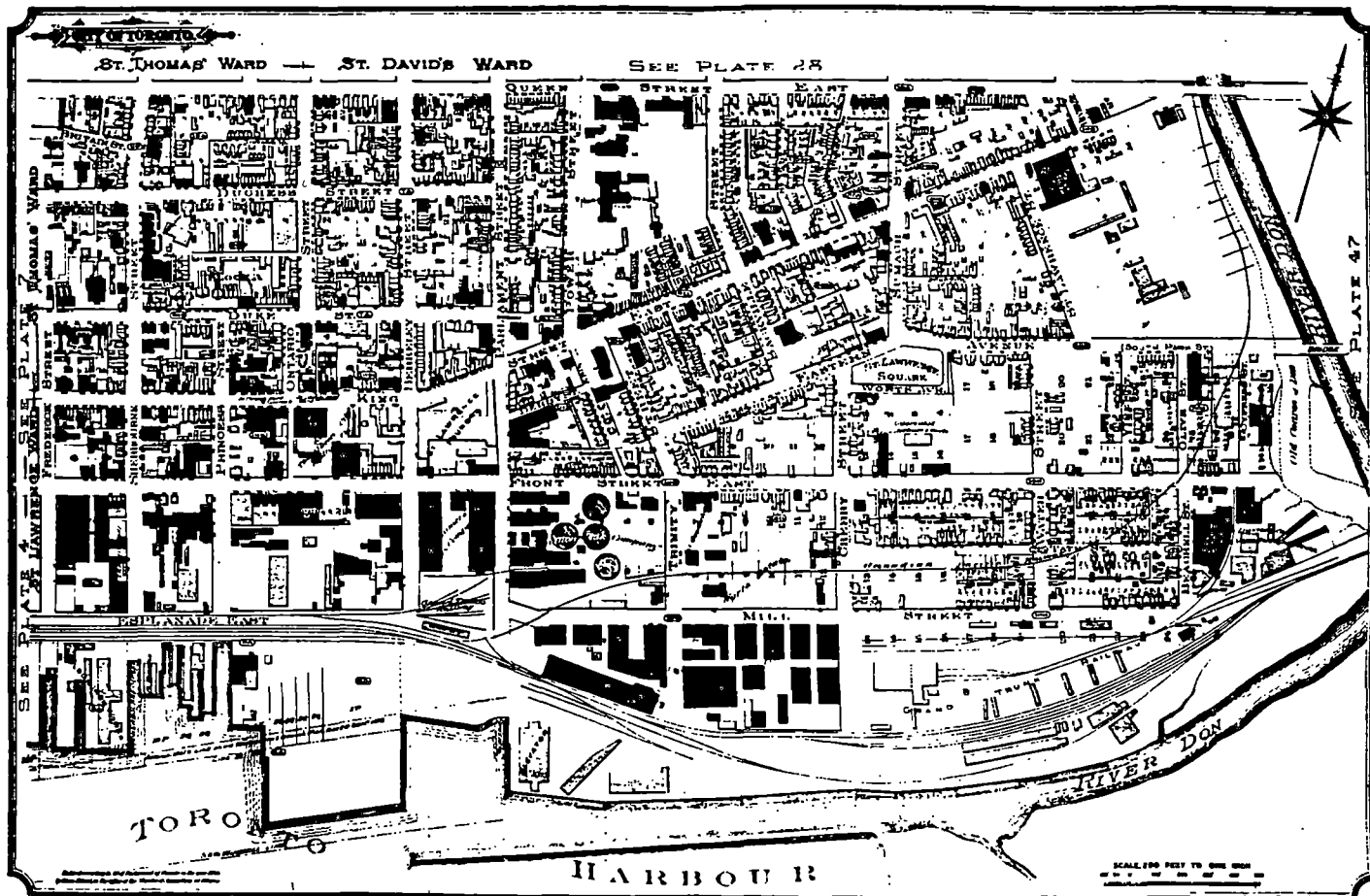


FIGURE 4-15

St. Lawrence Site, 1890

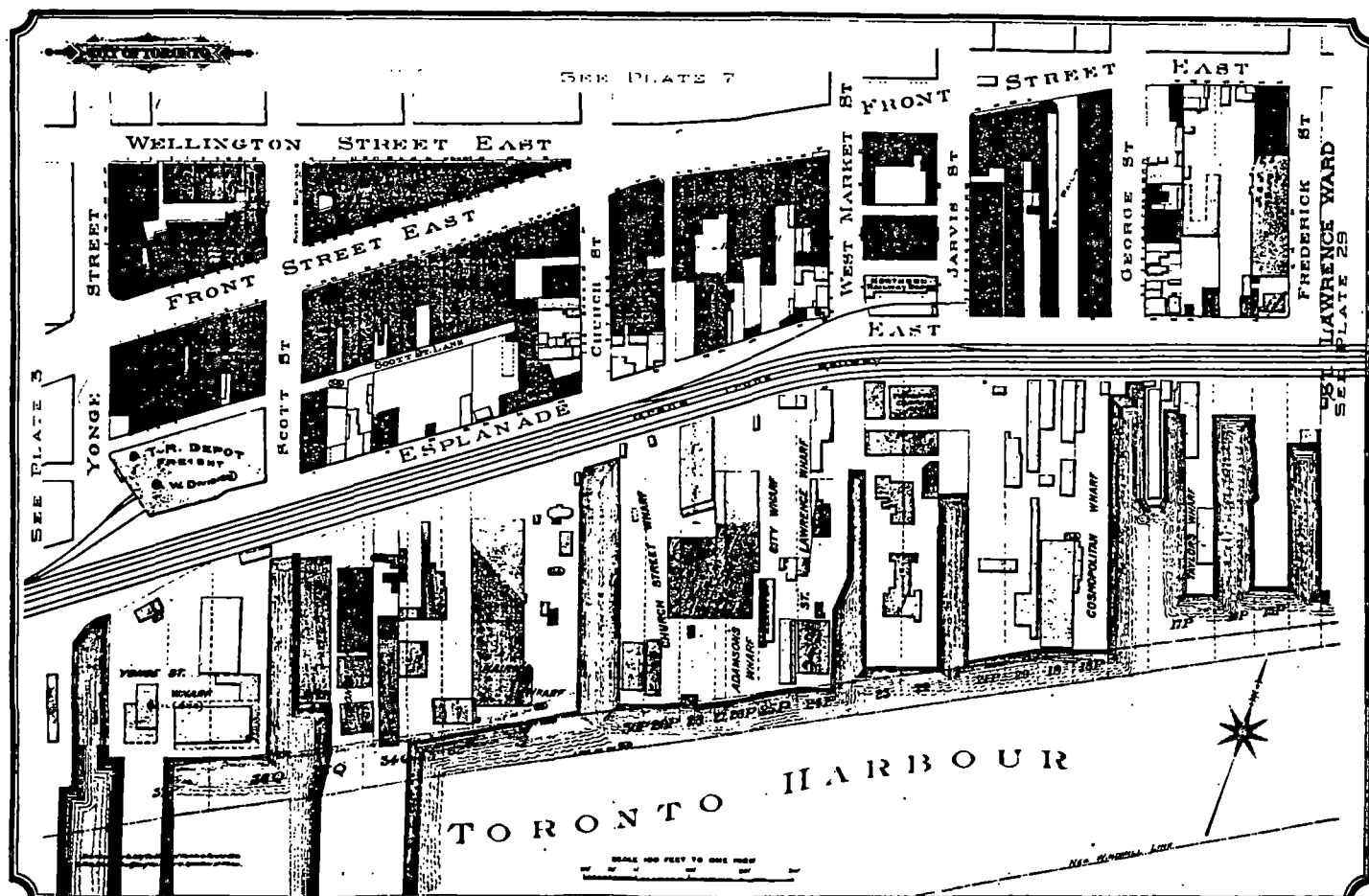


FIGURE 4-16

St. Lawrence Site, 1890

Background Studies

By October 1974, Toronto City Council had begun acquisition of the site and set up a special unit within the new Housing Department to plan and implement the project.

The Status Report contained the first detailed analysis of major issues such as the area context, social services planning, and physical design. The discussion of design issues focused upon two major problems -- the disruption of the city fabric by large scale developments and the ghetto or "housing project" character associated with large public housing projects. The report, (largely prepared by planner Frank Lewinberg) suggests four approaches to design issues.[12]

1. Neighbourhood Focus and Identify:
 - The St. Lawrence Market as a "mode"
 - The Esplanade as a traditional shopping street
2. Mix:
 - mix of uses
 - mix of developers (public, non-profit, private)
 - mix of tenure types (ownership, rental, co-op)
 - mix of unit types
3. Open Space:
 - a hierarchy of open space
4. Streets:
 - a system where cars and people are compatible
 - respect the city grid

The influence of Jane Jacob's theories can clearly be seen in these principles and is readily acknowledged by the planners involved.

The Status Report set out the terms of reference for seven preliminary studies:

<u>Study</u>	<u>Consultants</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Existing Buildings	Matsui, Baer, Vanstone	\$10,000.00
Soils Report	Peto McCallum	\$10,000.00
Environmental Report	Jones, Hutchinson, Brown, Waterhouse	\$25,000.00
Design Guidelines	Zeidler Partnership	\$20,000.00
Context Report	Planning Board staff	N/A
Site Servicing	Public Works Staff	N/A
Social Services	Meyer Brownstone	\$24,000.00

The Existing Building Study (#3) recommended that three structures on Front Street be retained and adapted to new uses.(Figure 4-18) The Soils Report (#4) was primarily concerned with the bearing capacity and watertable problems of the landfill on the site. Much effort was devoted to avoiding multi-level underground parking structures, and many St. Lawrence Buildings are perched one half level above grade to accommodate this condition.

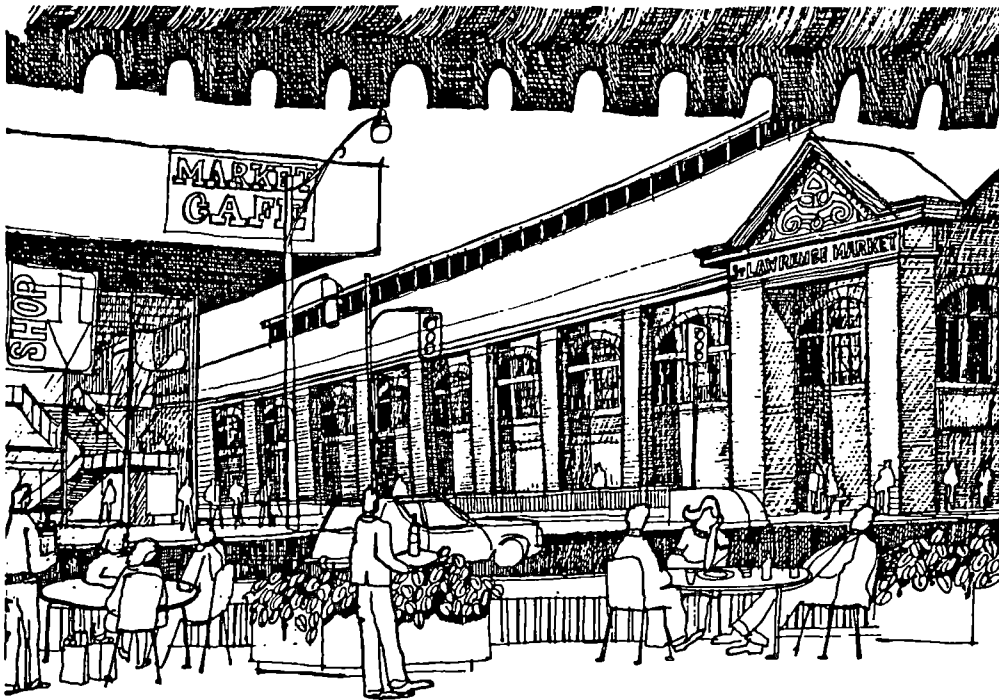
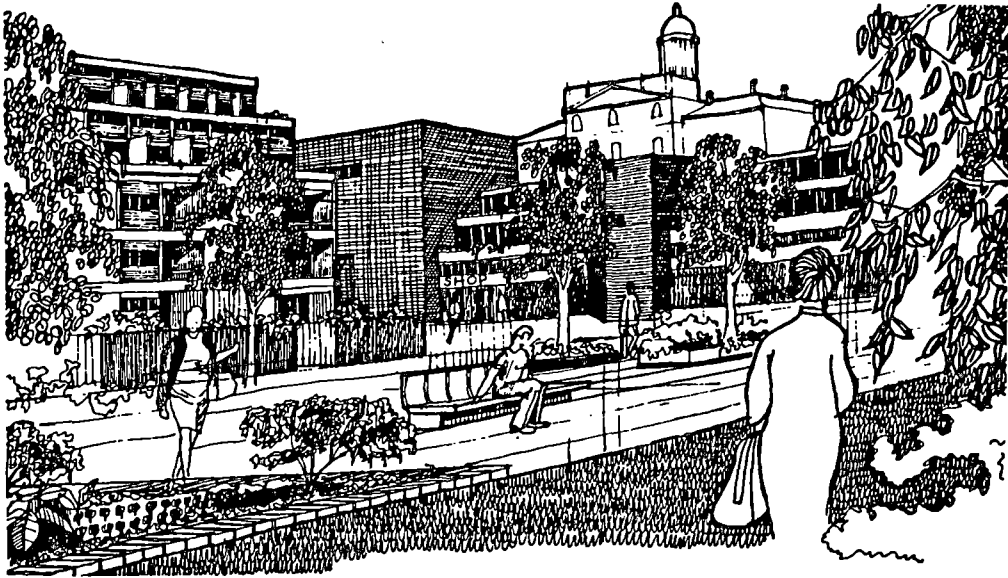


FIGURE 4-17



The Environmental Report (#5) mainly addressed the issues of noise, dust and odour. There was great initial concern about the noise from the adjacent Gardiner Expressway, railways and arterial roads. The study found that the most serious noise sources were Jarvis Street and the electrical transformer site (which was eventually enclosed in 1988). The concern about noise was to have a considerable impact on site planning for the neighbourhood. However, soil quality concerns did not have the same profile as the current planning for the Ataratiri community. It was simply recommended that the contaminated soil be removed or completely covered, as appropriate.

The Design Guidelines Report (#6) contains a wide ranging discussion of urban design issues. Some of its many recommendations were adopted:

- Schools should be integrated with housing structures;
- The Esplanade should be the major public open space spine; and
- Noise buffers should be developed.

However, many of this report's suggestions were contrary to the principles of the Housing and Planning Departments' staff and were not implemented, particularly:

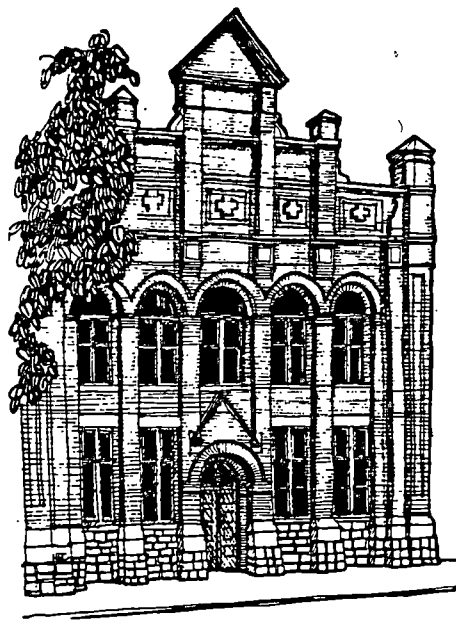
- Residential buildings should be mainly low rise;
- Water features, such as canals, should be incorporated into the plan; and,
- Second-level pedestrian walkways should be developed throughout the site.

The low rise emphasis appeared to clash with the housing targets while the pedestrian bridge proposals were in conflict with the principle of the primacy of the street.

The Context Report (#7) examined the planning policies for the areas surrounding St. Lawrence and made a number of important recommendations:

- a higher density (and built form) should be permitted in Phase C, adjacent to Yonge Street.
- that non residential uses be considered as buffers:
 - parking garages along the south edge
 - retail and community uses along Front and Jarvis
 - light industrial along Parliament.
- transit service should be provided along the Esplanade
- all public parking spaces should be replaced.

The concern for industrial uses at the edges of the site was prompted by fears that the King/Parliament industrial uses might be destabilized by residential development. The parking concerns were perhaps driven by the site's existing role as a commuter/theatre/market parking area and the Toronto Parking Authority's extensive land ownership.

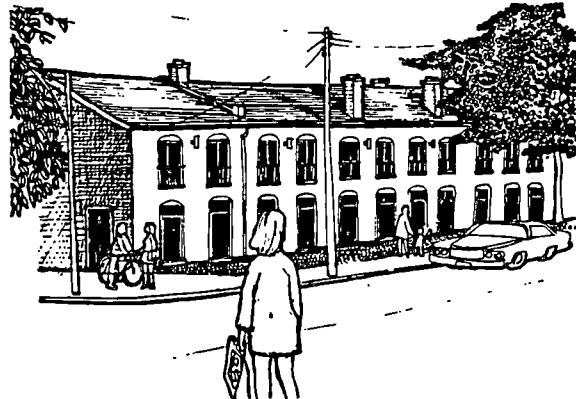


REHABILITATED BUILDINGS
ON BERKELEY STREET

TORONTO FREE THEATRE • FROM INDUSTRIAL



FROM RESIDENTIAL TO COMMERCIAL



MIXED COMMERCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL

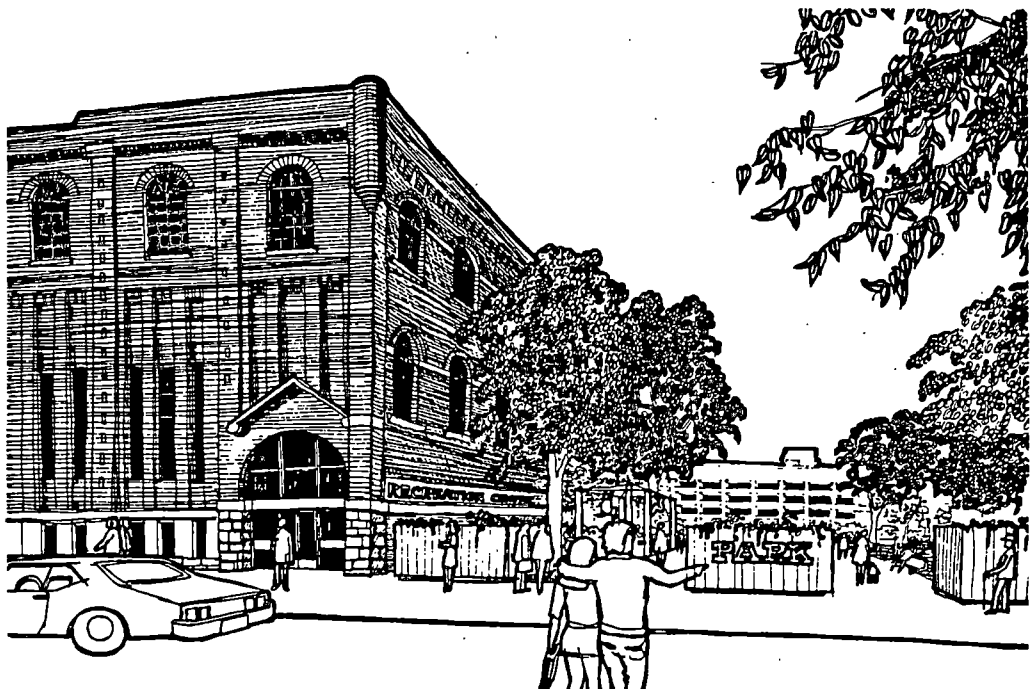


FIGURE 4-18

Existing Buildings

The Social Services Study (#11) took longer to complete. It was initially commissioned to identify the mix of residents likely to be found in the new neighbourhood and the social services facilities which they would need. The study was expanded to incorporate the development of a participatory, self-managed community. The Housing Department expressed some frustration with respect to this study, as social planning was concerned with issues which were beyond the control, or funding, of housing developers. Their response was to make provision for two schools, local retail and a community health clinic in the first phase of the development by ad-hoc arrangements with the respective agencies. As none of the other housing producers had the resources or time to accomplish this task, CityHome incorporated them into their own buildings. The result was the complex programme for the Crombie Park Apartments (Figure 4-33)

Detailed Site Planning Studies

By July 1975, most of the background studies were complete and the St. Lawrence staff began to consider its implications for the detailed work needed to develop a site plan. In their Site Planning Studies report they put forward three general principles [13]:

1. That the public realm of the neighbourhood be primarily related to grade.
2. That streets form the basic infrastructure of the neighbourhood.
3. That the existing Toronto grid be acknowledged and reflected in the form of the neighbourhood.

The strong emphasis on the street was expanded upon in a detailed discussion of traffic, dimensions, frontage, height, use and landscaping for each type of street. The staff were clearly contemplating local streets and lanes with dimensions less than the centuries-old standard of 66 feet (20 metres).

A second round of detailed site planning studies was commissioned at this time:

<u>Study</u>	<u>Consultant</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Block Study	Staff, Baird/Sampson	\$12,500.00
Buffer Studies	Brook Carruthers Shaw	\$12,500.00
	Klein and Sears	\$13,500.00
Traffic	DeLCan	\$ 6,000.00
Site Services	DeLCan	\$ 6,000.00
Landscape/Toxicology	Strong Moorehead	\$ 6,000.00
West of Church	Zeidler Partnership	\$12,500.00
Front/Jarvis	Zeidler Partnership	\$14,500.00

The Parliament Street Buffer study (#10) concluded that industrial use along that street was a marginal proposition at best. The Southern Buffer study concluded that either parking garages or housing would be efficient and cost-effective noise barriers, providing that special noise attenuation features were incorporated into the projects. The "acoustic envelope" (Figure 4-21) became an important principle for site planning.

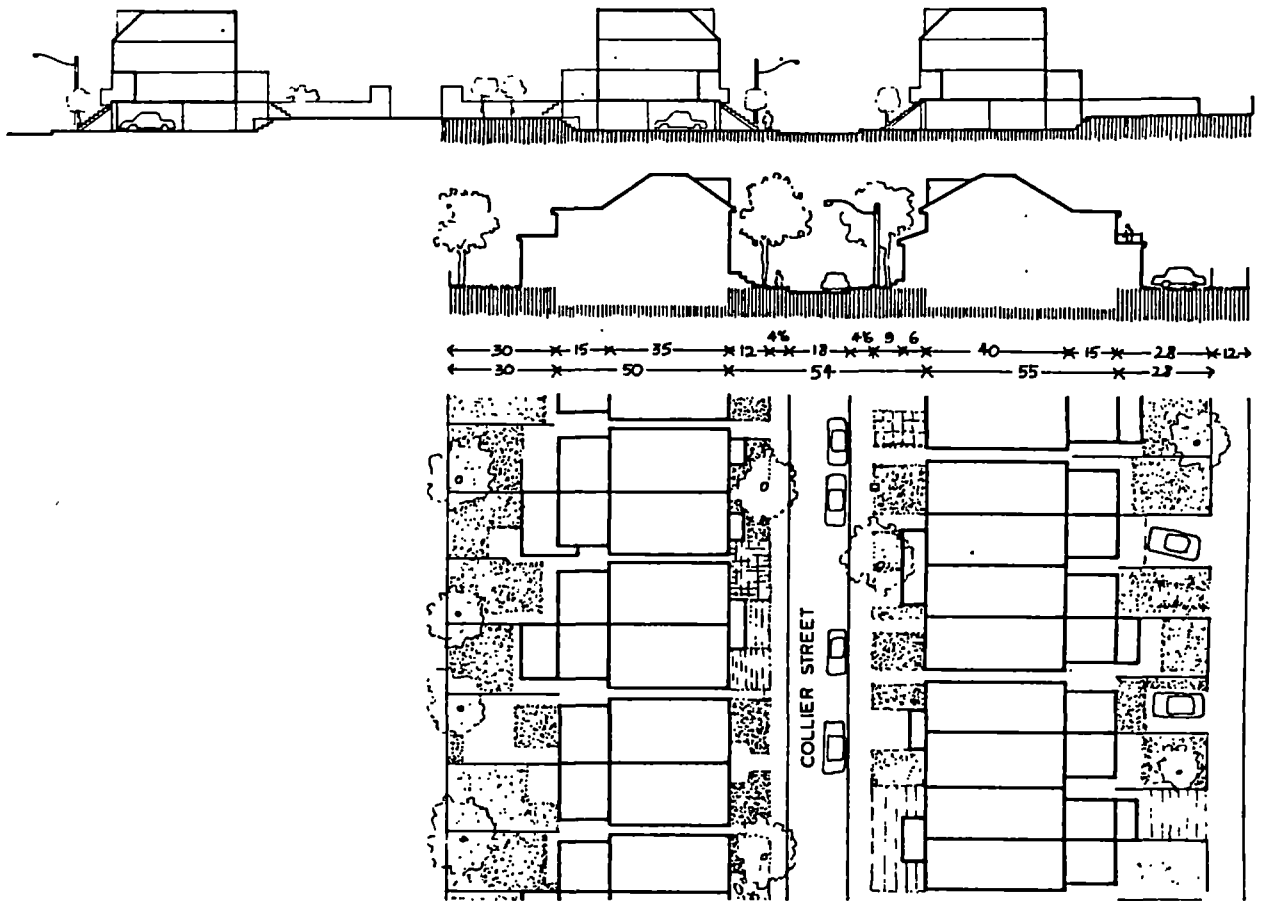


FIGURE 4-20 Collier Street

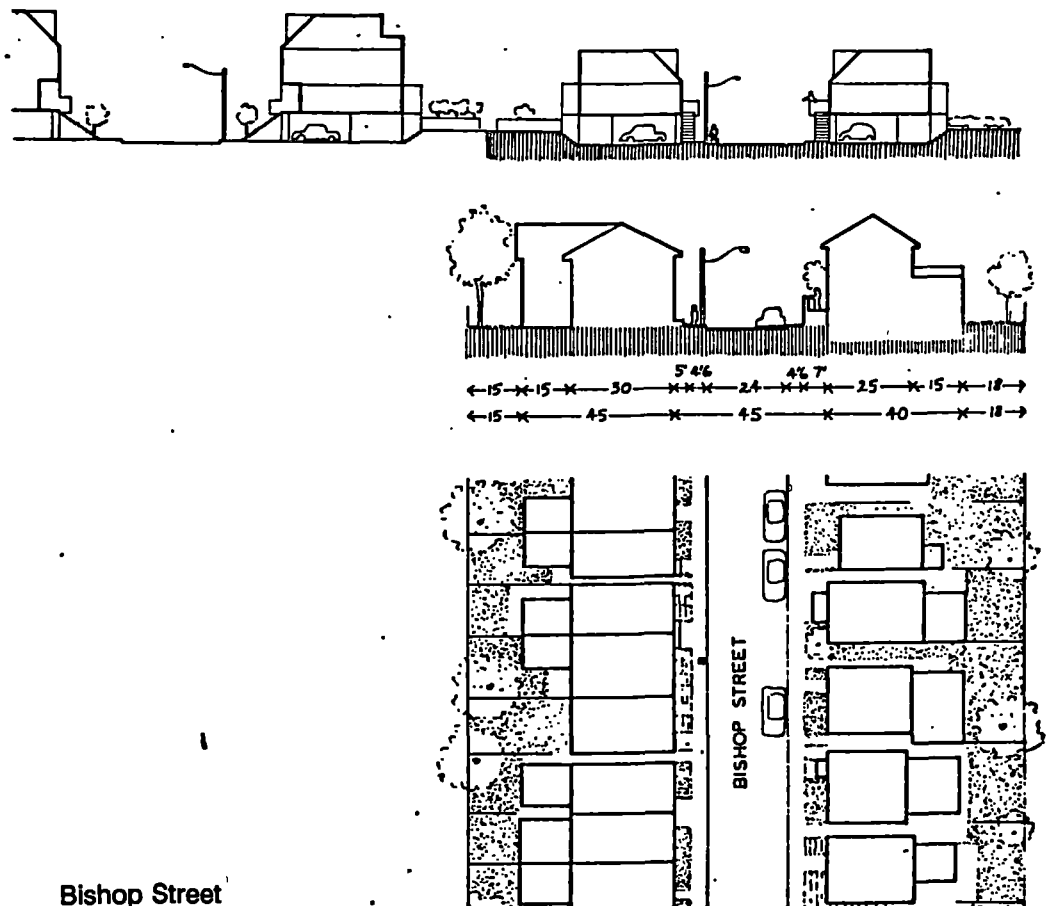


FIGURE 4-19 Bishop Street

4.1.4 Urban Design Review

Urban Design Principles

A strong urban design philosophy was conspicuous by its absence in the initial stages of the planning for St. Lawrence. Indeed, Robert Millward, the Director of Planning later wrote:

If people were to be accommodated satisfactorily the important considerations were the forms of management and tenure. ...[14]

Three principles emerged from the first round of planning studies:

- 1.) That the public realm be primarily related to grade
- 2.) That streets form the basic infrastructure of the neighbourhood
- 3.) That the existing Toronto grid be acknowledged and reflected in the form of the neighbourhood [15]

These principles were a rejection of the "superblock" design framework of many public (and private) housing projects. They were also an implicit rejection of the principle of separating pedestrian and vehicular movement, a central component of modernist planning for 50 years.

Other site planning and urban design principles emerged slowly, in response to more detailed studies:

- Large housing units with grade access were to be maximized to provide family accommodation.
- Community facilities were to be combined with housing.
- Noise control concerns resulted in the "acoustic envelope" principle to buffer family housing from the effects of the peripheral roads and railway. (See Figure 4-21)
- A conventional housing/street relationship was encouraged with front doors on the street and private back yards.

There was little discussion of built form, except for a suggested relationship between building height and street function [16]:

- main streets: 6-8 floors maximum height
- The Esplanade: 4-6 floors
- local streets: 3-4 floors

Regulation of built form, other than height limits, was to be done by "performance criteria" evaluated during the development process.

The St. Lawrence Site Plan

The main features of the final site plan emerged during the Block Study, as described in a memo from Baird/Sampson Architects.[17] They strongly advocated the following features:

- The Esplanade should be the community park.
- The southern buffer should be made of single loaded, low rise housing -Retail should be on the north/south main street, not the Esplanade -Medium-rise buildings are possible along the Esplanade
- Schools should be located in the east side of Jarvis and Sherbourne Streets

City Council did not make a decision on whether the site plan should be designed by in-house staff or outside consultants, the Site Plan Report (#14) was eventually prepared by Housing Department staff, led by Alan Littlewood. The plan was designed using the principles developed in the earlier studies. While the planning principles for St. Lawrence can be traced to Jane Jacobs, the tight urban feel of the site plan certainly has some background in Littlewood's Dublin roots.

The site plan (Figure 4-22) includes a grid street pattern and the Esplanade Park as central organizing themes. Jarvis and Sherbourne Streets run through the site; six other local streets were extended south into the neighbourhood forming 300 foot wide blocks. New "mews" streets broke the 300 foot blocks in half for tight townhouse blocks: lot widths average 14 feet and depth varies from 50 to 75 feet. Rear yards range from twenty to twenty-five feet in depth and front yards are minimal, except when they are the only private space for a grade related unit.

Higher density uses are proposed near Yonge Street and medium rise buildings were proposed along Jarvis and Sherbourne. The frontage along the Esplanade was initially proposed as a combination of medium rise point towers and townhouses (Figure 4-23), but as this form proved expensive and inefficient, the final building parcels include a consistent street wall of medium rise buildings which runs for eight blocks. (Figure 4-24). This configuration takes advantage of the 200' width of the Esplanade park and roadways.




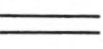



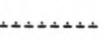

Finally, the acoustical envelope principle was adopted, essentially creating perimeter blocks 500 feet wide, creating quiet zones for 2-3 storey family housing in the interior.

Design Guidelines and Performance Criteria

There were few written design guidelines for architects working in St. Lawrence project, although the Site Plan gave a fairly strong image of what the planners wanted. The Housing Department controlled the land and controlled built form by rigorous review of the projects even to the extent of specifying a particular red-orange brick for most of Phase A. They were guided by the performance criteria drawn up by staff during the Block Study (shown in Table 4-3).

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

LEGEND

	PARKS		STREETS
	HIGH DENSITY		MEWS
	MEDIUM DENSITY		PHASE A
	LOW DENSITY		PHASE B
			PHASE C

FLAT IRON BUILDING

ST. LAWRENCE CENTRE

CYBER CENTRE

VICTORIA ST.

CHURCH ST.

THE ESPLANADE

MARKET ST.

ST. LAWRENCE MARKET

ST. JAMES CATHEDRAL

ST. JAMES PARK

ST. LAWRENCE HALL

JARVIS ST.

GEORGE ST.

FREDERICK ST.

SHERBOURNE ST.

ADELAIDE ST. E.

KING ST. E.

FRONT ST. E.

PRINCESS ST.

ONTARIO ST.

THE TORONTO SUN NEWSPAPER

BERKELEY THEATRE

BERKELEY ST.

PARLIAMENT ST.

GEORGE BROWN COLLEGE

HISTORICAL BUILDING

PRIVATE DEV. + RETAIL COMMERCIAL

MEWS

ARCHER CO-OP

MEWS

HISTORICAL BUILDING

THE ESPLANADE

HARMONY CO-OP

MEWS

MEWS

WOODSWORTH CO-OP

MEWS

MEWS

CATHEDRAL CO-OP

PRINCESS ST.

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

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MEWS

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MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

MEWS

THE KIRKLAND PARTNERSHIP
INC. ARCHITECTS

The St. Lawrence Site Plan

SOURCE: City of Toronto Housing Department

FIGURE 4-22

TABLE 4-3

PERFORMANCE CRITERIA FOR ST. LAWRENCE BUILDINGS

1. Mix of Uses and Adaptability of the Homes
 - changes to the unit should be possible
 - large units should be related to grade
 - storage space should be available
 - convertible space at grade: to retail (major streets) to daycare (local streets)
2. Entrances on Residential Streets
 - privacy at grade: setback 5-15 feet from sidewalk & grade change of one half level
 - shared porches and entries
 - reasonable entrance lobbies to units above retail
 - primary access and address from public streets
 - lobbies to be an extension of public streets.
3. Private Open Space and Backyards
 - minimum back to back dimension 50 feet
 - minimum yard 25 feet (22 feet with a lane)
 - upper units in stacked townhouses to have stair access
 - minimum yard size of 10% of net area
 - yard dimensions to permit outdoor dining
 - clear transition from public (front yard) to private (backyard)
 - fenced outdoor play area for young children (0-3 years)
 - local play area clearly comprehensible for a child of 2 to 8 years
4. Residential Parking
 - adjacent to dwelling if possible
 - on-street parking permitted
 - use of private open space for parking prohibited
5. Noise Control
 - no units with exclusive frontage on arterial roads or railways
 - private open space in the quiet side

Source: St. Lawrence Site Plan, (Report #14), Appendix 1.

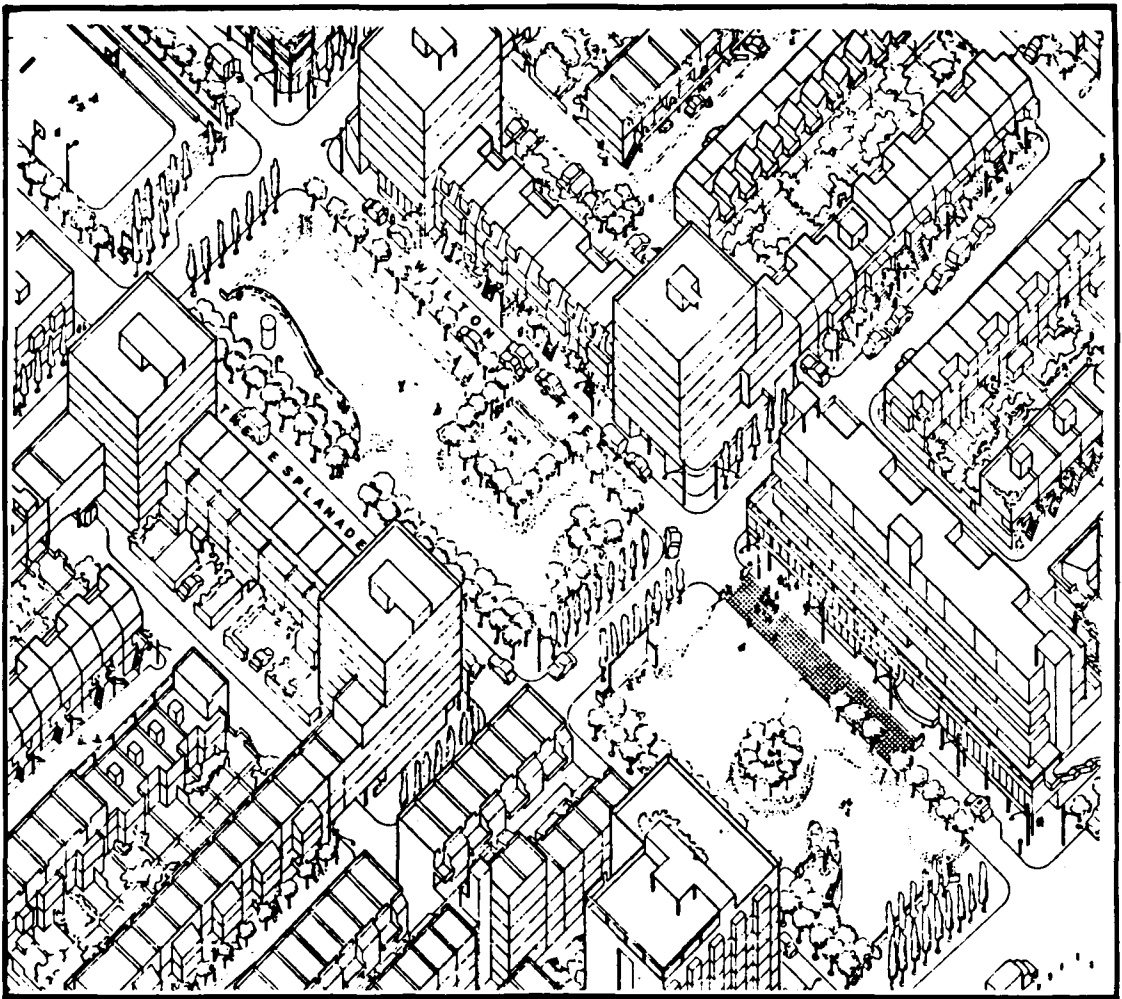


FIGURE 4-23

Perspective from Site Plan Study

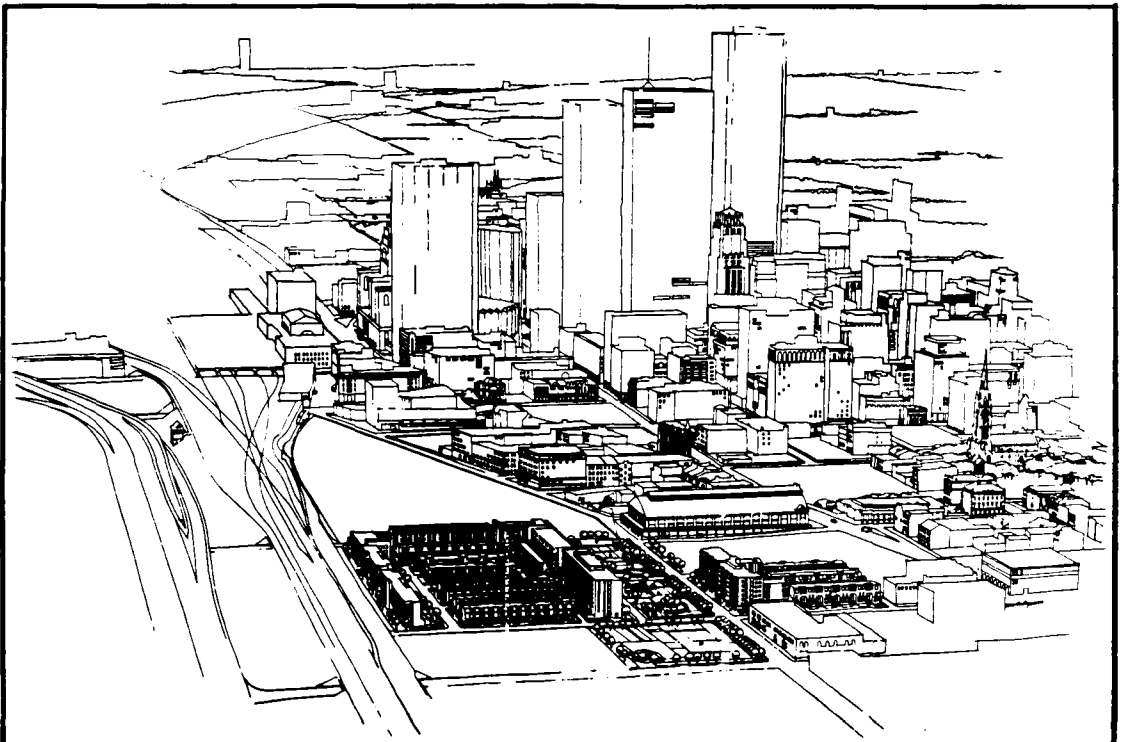


FIGURE 4-24

As-Built Aerial Perspective

4.1.5 Parks and Open Space Review

Design Principles for Parks and Open Space

"The planners of St. Lawrence believed in the primacy of public open space. To this end their concern was to design the spaces between the buildings," [18]

The only objective for parks and open space in the first report was a requirement for 6 acres of land. However, the major role of the Esplanade as a central open space element was intimated in the second St. Lawrence Report and was partially elaborated in Zeidler's Design Guidelines report and Baird/ Sampson's input into the Block Study. The Esplanade became the central organizing framework for the open space system and built form of the neighbourhood.

Other park design principles which emerged included:

- multiple uses for parks were to be encouraged. Public parks and school yards were to be combined.
- local streets would cross the Esplanade Park in especially designed "car crossing" zones.
- streets were to be designed as public spaces, with extensive tree planting.
- lanes and mews streets could also be informal children's play areas.
- ambiguous publicly accessible open space should be minimized. Public open space should be concentrated in public parks. Private open space should be concentrated in private yards.

Description of the St. Lawrence Open Space System

The decision to concentrate public parkland in the Esplanade emerged in the site planning process. A preliminary Esplanade Park plan was shown in the Site Plan Report [19] and was elaborated in the Open Space Design Study (#15), as shown in Figure 4-25. Both these planning studies were produced by Joel Shack, an architect who was a consultant to the Housing Department at the time.

The first phase park was executed by Strong, Moorhead, Fleming, Corban (See Figure 4-26). The six acre Esplanade Park contains a variety of spaces for community use (from west to east):

- a proposed market square
- a school playground
- a fountain/wading pool and sitting area.
- a small sports field
- a garden
- a lawn
- a hard surface sports area and stage
- a second children's playground
- a future sports field (currently occupied by school portables)

The park (now named Crombie Park) is joined together by its strongest feature -- a double row of trees forming a pedestrian promenade along its northern edge. Large specimens of the fast-growing "Tree of Heaven" (*Ailanthus Altissima*) were planted prior to completion of the first phase of the neighbourhood, in order to provide an amenity for the initial residents.

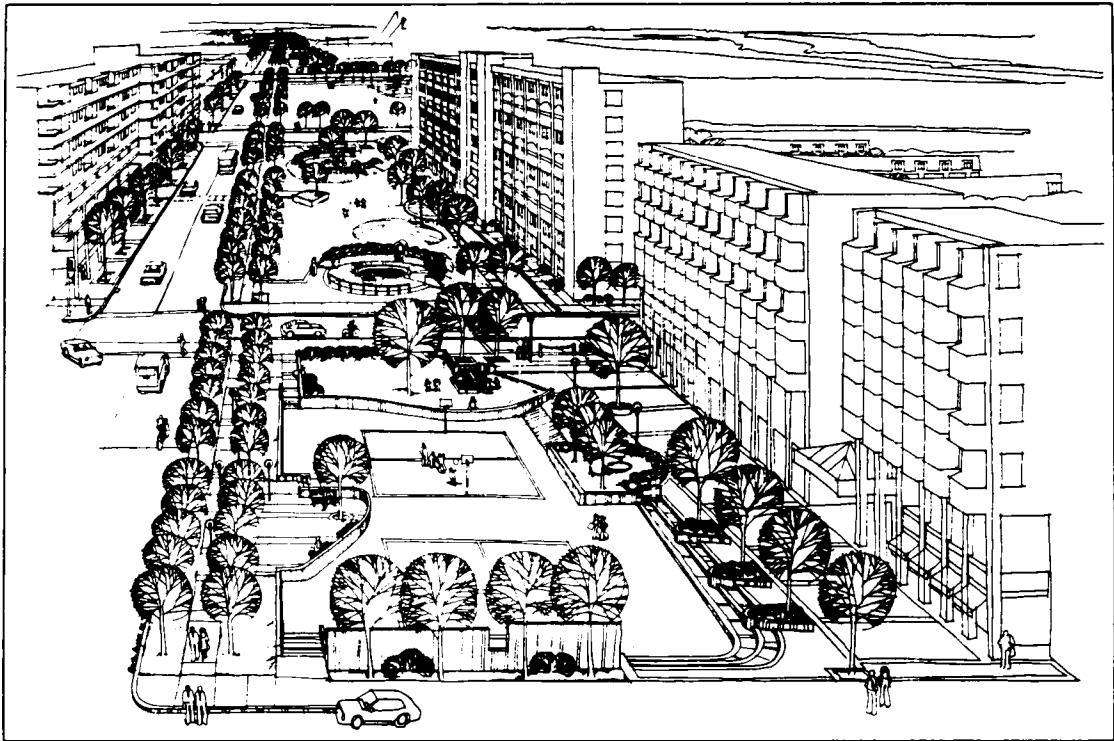


FIGURE 4-26

Esplanade Park Perspectives

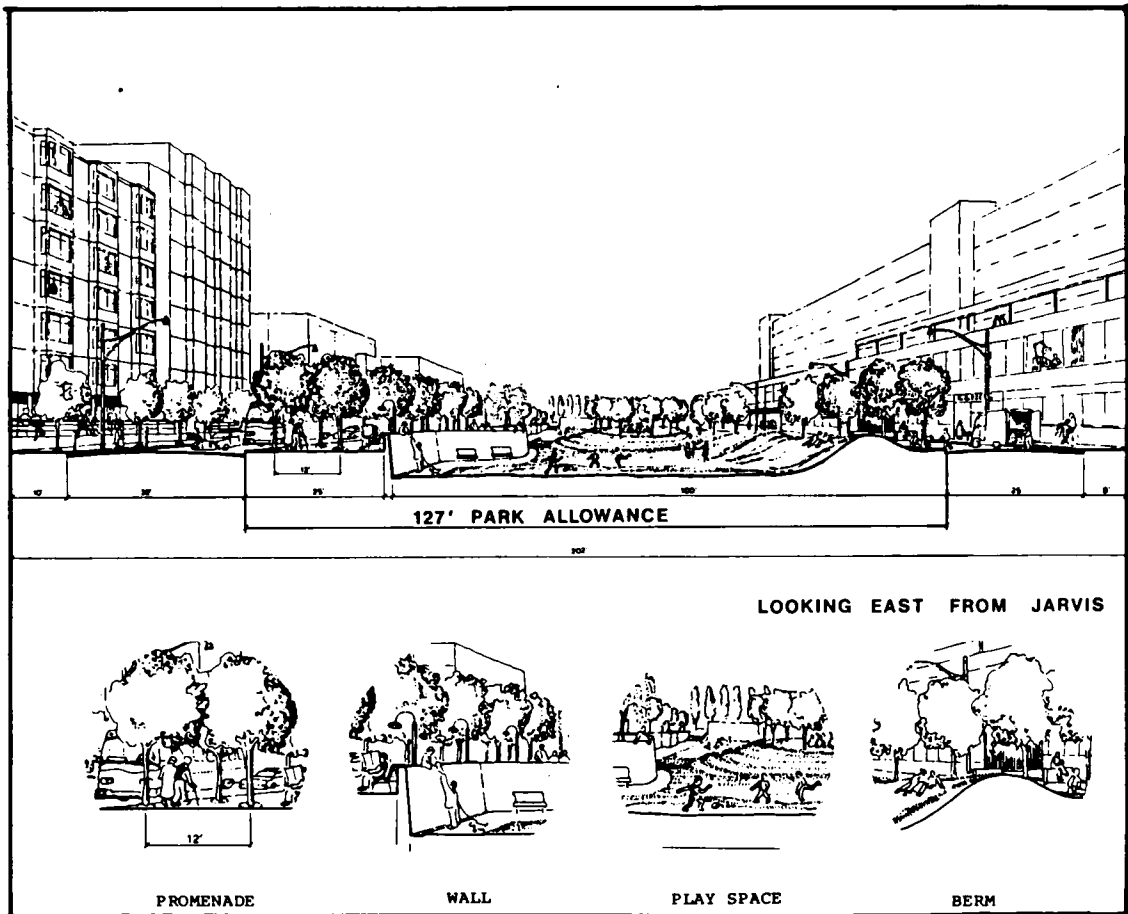


FIGURE 4-25

Initial Esplanade Park & Cross Section

The second public park in St. Lawrence is a 2.5 acre block in Phase B, adjacent to Princess Street. The daycare centre was built adjacent to the block, but unfortunately, the planned second school was not incorporated into the building at the south-east corner of Sherbourne and the Esplanade. After several years of uncertainty, the community centre and second school are being built on the north side of the Esplanade, including a short underground tunnel for the children's safe access to the park.

The St. Lawrence site plan has very little semi-public open space. Most buildings are built to the lot line. The ground plane is devoted to either streets, buildings, public parks or private yards. A system of mid-block pedestrian walkways connects most of the mews streets to the Esplanade, by passageways through the medium rise buildings. Most of these passageways are awkward and difficult to control, despite being next to the building lobbies.

The local streets form an important component of the public open space system. Considerable effort in utility coordination was expended to ensure that street trees would be planted in the public right-of-way. The combination of sidewalks, street trees, front porches, narrow streets and permit parking has made the local streets safe for pedestrian use. The mews streets are further removed from busy Front Street and the Esplanade, and are successfully used for children's play.

In conclusion, the open space system in St. Lawrence can be regarded as innovative in terms of its mixed-use approach to a community park. However, the execution of the park itself is regarded as merely adequate, with criticism of the design by both the residents and in applied research by the Parks and Recreation Department.[20]

4.1.6 Evaluation - The Design of St. Lawrence

The St. Lawrence district is made from three basic building types:

- a) 7 to 10 storey buildings facing the Esplanade;
- b) 2 to 3 storey townhouses or stacked townhouses on residential streets with backyards; and
- c) 3 to 5 storey townhouses providing an accoustical buffer at the south side of the site.

Iconographic idiosyncrasies and adjustments to the basic plans are evident, corresponding to various architects' initiatives. Thus, 15 Scadding Avenue (Ron Thom) has concrete arches derived from warehouses in the area (or Louis Kahn's Dacca project) as shown in Figure 4-27, while the facade of Archer (J. Markson) Co-op has an abstract, asymmetrical arrangement of balconies and windows. The Harmony Co-op (V. Kuchar) has pitched roofs (Figure 4-28), while the townhouses in the Woodsworth Co-op have false mansard roofs.

Within this inventory of surface inventions, there are varying degrees of acceptance by the occupants. Preference for recognizable iconographic references is expressed by local residents. In that light, 15 Scadding Court is seen as more successful than Archer Co-op, and the Harmony Co-op townhouses more appealing than the similar type at Woodsworth Co-op, or at Crombie Park.

Jane Jacobs, in The Death and Life of Great American Cities, observed that "streets provide the principal visual scenes in cities." [22] It is ironic that this project, whose authors cite Ms. Jacobs as a strong influence on their thinking, is perhaps least successful in terms of its "street appeal".

Loop (mews) streets are characterized by a reasonable programme of landscaping that has been enthusiastically supplemented by residents' initiatives in several locations. However, the unthoughtful integration of garages into the front facades is visually unappealing. This serious planning error is augmented by poorly considered facades that are clearly inferior to the 19th Century models from which they were supposedly derived.

The Esplanade, which should serve as the memorable "face" for the district is, instead, the most notable failure. The comparison to Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, an obvious precedent, is telling. In the case of The Esplanade, the buildings have no relationship to landscape concepts in the adjacent park. Poor planning is evident where shops, lobbies, and numerous other conditions are haphazardly conjoined, and the architectural concepts are completely self-referential within each project.

Perhaps Ms. Jacobs' writings contain the very seeds to these shortcomings. With respect to the making of physical form, she expresses an anti-compositional stance and an impatience with generalized or conceptually based urban form. Her insistence that urban design may spring first from a response to particulars or specifics has precedence in the incremental development of medieval towns, or even her home-at-the-time, Greenwich Village, New York. However, she excludes such obviously successful urban productions as Haussmann's Paris and Nash's London. Her circumscribed field of reference results in designs that neither convey larger cultural meaning nor gain credence from references to prototypical formal configurations. The disappointing building facades on the Esplanade are especially relevant here, where a large-scale, vision of an urban street should have been brought forward in place of the planning guidelines.

Still, Ms. Jacob's complicity in what architect Peter Hemingway described as "those dreary empty plazas and streets" [23] is at best circumstantial. Unfortunately, the planners of St. Lawrence discounted the effects of design. One participant later wrote:

"The planners of St. Lawrence rejected the notion that the arrangement of buildings in space, or even their architectural design, could in any direct way affect the lives of the people who lived in them..."[24]

Thus, the whole issue of architectural design was seen as one of relatively low priority.

But if St. Lawrence has many shortcomings from the point of view of iconography, specific architectural conditions, and cultural meaning, evaluation by performance criteria reveals notable successes. Perhaps the same single-minded focus on "the basics" allowed for this outcome:

- (1) Develop a memorable and useful public space that will function as a reference for the district in general.
- (2) Develop communal spaces that foster a sense of responsibility.
- (3) Make transitional spaces between streets and lobbies that are easily identifiable, accessible, and housing an appropriate public character.
- (4) Provide useful, private, outdoor space directly accessible from units.
- (5) Design units so that living spaces are both visual and actual relationships to outdoor spaces.

Public Space

Crombie Park, (a linear, east west oriented, space 200' wide by 2500' long) is the principal visual point of reference of the district (See Figure 4-29). Similarities exist between this space and Commonwealth Avenue in Boston (designed by Frederick Law Olmstead in 1881, Figure 4-30), which has a virtually identical width, and also functions as a green, recreational space for the surrounding residential district. Both spaces focus on linear, tree-lined pedestrian promenades approximately 10' wide. Toronto's version is placed asymmetrically (conjoining The Esplanade) with respect to the longitudinal axis of the remainder of the space, while the promenade on Commonwealth Avenue aligns with the axis. The value of Toronto's asymmetrical placement lies in the ability of the space to accommodate a variety of other park-related activities.

Communal Space

There are four types of communal spaces, and with varying degrees of success with respect to their design.

- a) Neighbourhood Streets and Courtyards - Most townhouses are located on loop roads handling only local vehicular traffic. These streets were designed to function as play areas for children. The centres of some blocks have large communal open spaces. Behind 15 Scadding Court, the space contains a playground and nursery. It is well-used, although overly open to the street on its east side. However, other spaces are not nearly as successful, such as the central spaces at 176 The Esplanade. The north courtyard space is ringed by open-air corridors. Consequently, privacy considerations didn't allow for windows facing the space, and this lack of visual contact is detrimental to the residents' perception of the space as an extension of their living units.
- b) Roof Decks -- Some 8-storey co-ops have roof-top, open-air recreational facilities connected to common rooms. These have worked where the social organizational is strong.
- c) Internal Streets -- The Windmill Line Co-op boasts 2-storey, internal "streets-in-the-air" connecting approximately 80 units. This has been an effective mixer for the residents. However, there have been noise control problems caused by children playing in the corridor.
- d) Upper Level Streets -- Crombie Park has a third-level, space connecting the backs of townhouses and apartments. This space has ambiguous "ownership" scenarios and is consequently under-utilized as private recreation space.

Transitional Spaces

Transitional spaces connect public streets to lobbies in elevator-serviced buildings. These spaces are often dark, lacking in identity, and improperly used to park bicycles, motorcycles, etc..(See Figure 4-31) They are generally unsuccessful. Particularly infamous are transitional spaces that tend to obfuscate points of entry, such as the obscure entry points to the schools and apartment building at the Crombie Park Building. (See Figure 4-32)

The courtyard space at Front and Sherbourne, with off-street commercial frontage, is a particularly misguided design attempt. It seems clear that retail facilities cannot provide life to internal spaces that already lack enough activity.



FIGURE 4-27 Arches at 15 Scadding Avenue



FIGURE 4-28 Harmony Co-op Roofline

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK
ESTABLISHED 1793 - RE-ESTABLISHED 1977

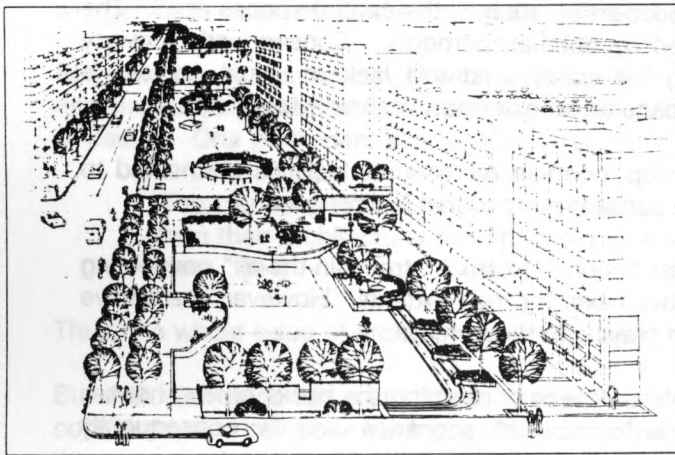


FIGURE 4-29 Esplanade Park



FIGURE 4-30 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston



FIGURE 4-31 Passage Into 170 Esplanade



FIGURE 4-32 Crombie Park Apartments

Private Outdoor Space

Private, backyard outdoor spaces attached to townhouses are well-used, while most front porches are so undersized as to virtually preclude use. Outdoor spaces in conjunction with grade-related units at the base of 8-storey buildings had mixed success. Where the spaces were adjacent to collector streets, this proximity was usually not sufficiently mitigated by privacy barriers. The Cityhome building at The Esplanade and Sherbourne Street typifies this problem. However, the spaces demarcated by solid barriers, such as at the south face of both Woodsworth Co-op and Windmill Line Co-op, constituted pleasurable amenities to their corresponding living units.

Living Spaces

Many unit designs provide kitchens with large bay windows overlooking the local streets. This connection enlivens both spaces.

4.1.7 Conclusions

Depending on one's affiliations, the blame for St. Lawrence's shortcomings are variously laid at the feet of planners (who, it is said, hindered any creative efforts through their design guidelines), architects (who produced mediocre designs), the ambivalence of Torontonians (who have never decided whether they live in a world-class city or a big, friendly village), or the Spirit of the Time (when intimations of bigness seemed bad). But, however severe the visual shortcomings of St. Lawrence may be, it is still one of the most successful new urban housing districts in North America. The district introduced several significant innovations in planning and design to Toronto:

Mixed-Use Hybrid Buildings:

St. Lawrence has conditions where housing and institutional uses are mixed to allow for maximum use of the site. For example, the Crombie Park complex has apartments, townhouses, a separate and public school, and commercial uses. (See Figure 4-33)

Multiple-Use Public Space:

The portion of Crombie Park bounded by Jarvis Street on the West and George Street on the East, functions as a public park, as well as the designated playground for both the public and separate schools that conjoin the space. The overlapping of functions works because the typical hours for park and school-related uses are different. This is a very efficient use of open space, particularly noteworthy in high-density areas where space is at a premium. (See Figure 3-34)

Buildings as Acoustical Buffers:

Inventive design in section has resulted in single-sided units stacked high enough to shield the whole residential district from undue noise.

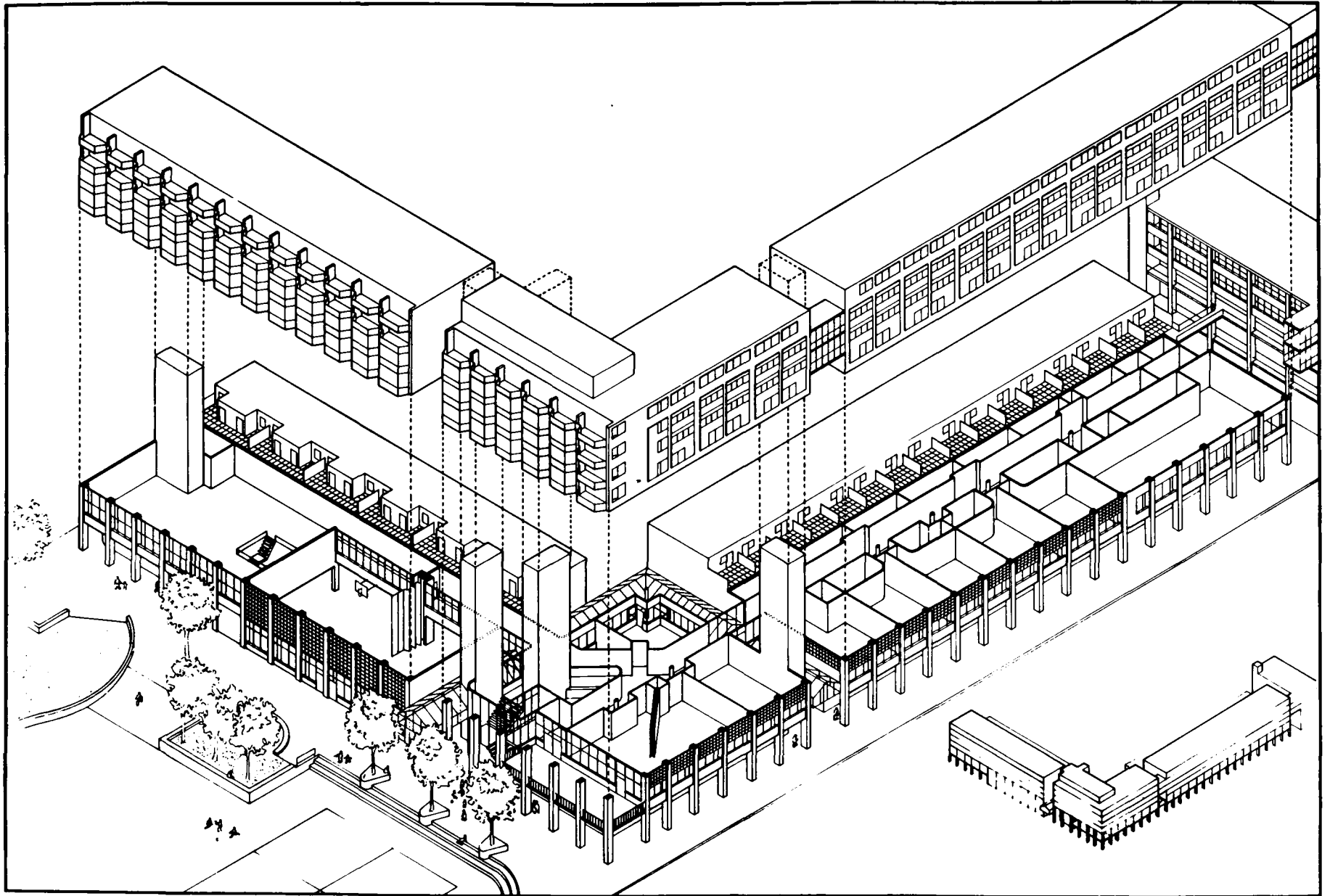


FIGURE 4-33

Mixed Use Building - Cromble Park Apartments

Road Right of Way Width:

The St. Lawrence district features many road widths, varying from mews streets with 45' facing distances such as Albert Frank Place, to The Esplanade with its 200' width, matching that of Commonwealth Avenue in Boston.

The Streets Are the Playground:

The loop roads facilitate local vehicular use while frustrating regional traffic. Several unit plans feature kitchens in front with bay windows providing for the surveillance of the street.(See Figure 3-45)

New Residential Building Types:

The St. Lawrence district provided the opportunity to introduce new building types to Toronto on an unprecedented scale. The example of buildings such as Archer Co-op, Woodsworth Co-op and others, located at the edges of Crombie Park, provided evidence of the desirability of zero-lot-line, medium-rise, high-density, high-coverage apartment buildings. At the same time, an appropriate foil to these buildings were streets of medium-density, stacked, street related townhouses.

Perhaps the origins of both the successes and shortcomings of this district lie in its theoretical underpinnings. While favouring the individual (and anti-urban) and neglecting collective conceptual basis, the design guidelines could provide little visionary leadership, instead offering only good sense. And the architecture of good sense, for all its shortcomings and successes, is what the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood has in abundance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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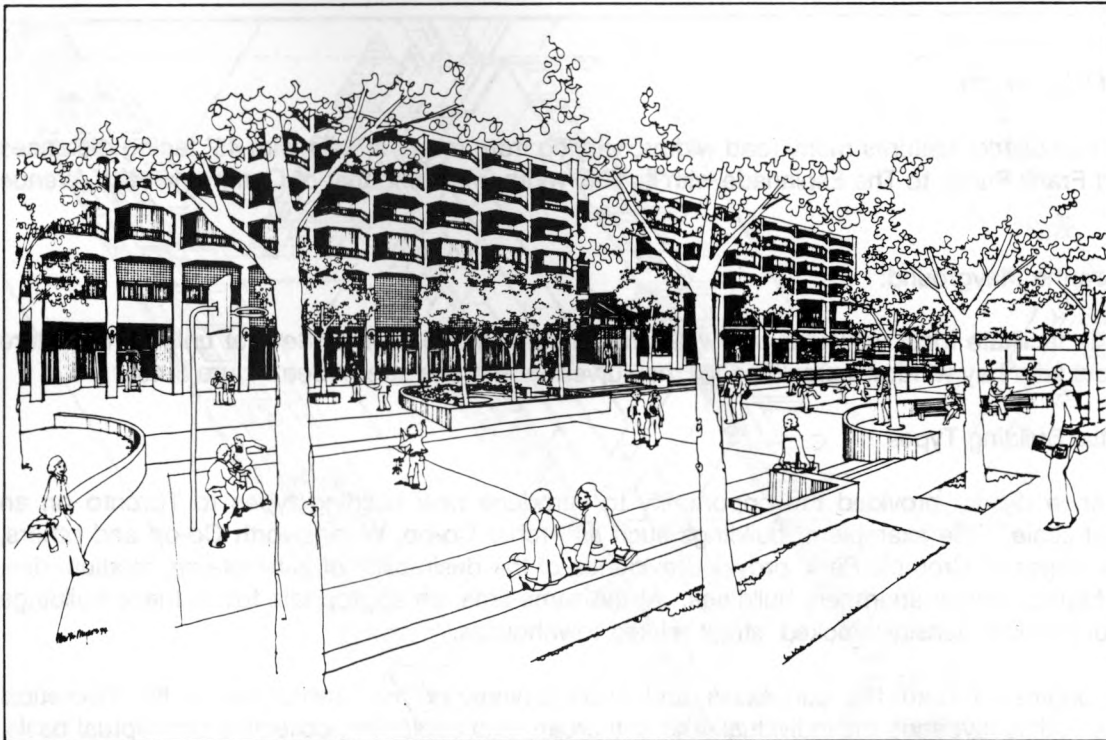


FIGURE 4-34

Mixed Use Open Space and St. Michael's Schoolyard



FIGURE 4-35

Mews Street - Albert Frank Place

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Figure

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4.2 PANEL DISCUSSION: DESIGNING ST. LAWRENCE

Marc Baraness: Moderator

I would like to thank Steven and David for their presentation. Our first panellist is Christopher Hume, who is the architectural and art critic for the Toronto Star. Our second panellist is Michel Labbé, who is a planner and a consultant with Lantana Non-Profit Homes. He coordinated two developments in St. Lawrence and also has lived in St. Lawrence for at least eight years. Paul Rueber is an architect who has been involved with numerous housing and urban issues in the City of Toronto. Paul is the architect of the Berkeley Street Co-op at the eastern end of St. Lawrence.

Christopher Hume, Speaker:

I am not a resident of St. Lawrence, but I am familiar with it because I go past it all the time. I also go past St. James Town, Moss Park, Regent Park, those other kinds of places. In my mind there is no doubt that St. Lawrence is the best housing project in the City. I suppose there is lots of truth in what David Gordon and Steven Fong have been saying this morning. It seems to me that essentially the criticisms they are making are almost irrelevant because the success of a housing project like this doesn't seem to be a function of architecture as much as it seems to be a function of urban planning and economic issues.

It seems to me that St. Lawrence works because, first of all, it has streets that let you go in and out. It is extraordinary to me to walk past a place like Moss Park where you can't figure how to get into the place, and if I ever did figure how to get in I wouldn't be able to figure how to get out. It is not a very attractive place. It seems deliberately cut off from the rest of the City, whereas St. Lawrence seems to me to go to pains to be a part of the City. It seems that the strange thing about those earlier models (as in St. James Town), is that there is no clear delineation between what is public and what is private. They were talking about Allan Littlewood, and I remember interviewing him about his plans to try to make Edgely Village habitable. He told me that if they had set out to design a place that is ideal for drug dealers they couldn't have come up with a better plan than Edgely Village. Nobody knows what is public and what is private and planners just avoid it, rather than trying to deal with it.

I have never had that feeling at St. Lawrence. This is a street and you know what is a front yard. You know whether you are supposed to be there or not supposed to be there. Writing for a newspaper, I have the opportunity to talk to lots of architects, designers, artists and urban planners, and I am always interested to hear what they think they are doing that is the thought behind their efforts. Somebody said earlier on that if St. Lawrence had been built ten years earlier it would have looked different. It would have been less successful, and we would probably be tearing it down now instead of celebrating it. The same thing with this Conference. If this Conference was held ten years earlier we would be sitting here talking about theories behind Moss Park, and they might have made sense if you listened to them then.

I have also interviewed the architect of Moss Park, Irving Grossman. I might be wrong, but Irving Grossman is an architect who had to design public housing in the City. His argument is a very convincing one -- he thought that green spaces were great for people and a car was evil, dirty and smelly, and you should keep it out of the neighbourhood. Of course, it didn't work that way. I found one thing in David's and Steven's paper which I underlined because to me it is the key. One passage says:

"Certainly this theoretical championing of the street was part of a larger social vision that included the youth culture. The idea of the street was transformed from an unsavoury entity into a preferred venue for culture and political activism". The next sentence is the important one. "In making these connections, the traditional street acquired the radical cachet previously assigned to highrise slabs and streets in the air".

In other words, even if St. Lawrence is a successful example of housing, I would worry that it is accidentally successful and that again we have a situation where something that seems like common sense on one level has become a theory or a fashion that may or may not be adopted; it may come and go. It seems to me that housing and the City are too important to be left to the theorists, with all due respect.

I think that there are plenty of examples of neighbourhoods that work or places that people choose to live. They don't choose to live there because they are architecturally significant. They choose to live there because they are comfortable, because they are convenient, because they can afford them. I think that it is little things like that. It seems very strange to me that we live in a world where theorists would at one time in history adopt the idea of the highrise, and then the idea of another particular moment is back to something traditional such as the street and humanely-scaled housing, etc. etc. As I say, it seems too important to be a question of fashion.

I suppose all I can say is that there should be some way of taking the complete responsibility for these important issues out of the hands of architects and urban planners and sharing it with other groups. I don't believe that the architects or the urban planners or any specific professional group has a monopoly on expertise. We all live in cities. We work in cities. We live in houses. We are all experts. I believe that it is a great mistake, and it leads to terrible problems when these kinds of questions are left to be solved by one specific professional group.

Marc Baraness:

Thank you Christopher, for these Saturday morning comments to a room full of architects and planners. I am sure this is a question of significant debate, and maybe we could hear from the audience, after our final panellist.

Michel Labbé, Speaker:

I want to thank David Gordon for giving me this opportunity to think about my neighbourhood. We don't often get the chance to be forced to sit down and say what is good about our neighbourhood, what is bad about our neighbourhood and to look at someone else's views. I have tried to pick key points that I would like to emphasize. We are looking back at St. Lawrence to look forward to Ataratiri, and we probably shouldn't forget that in terms of what we are doing today.

In terms of the history of St. Lawrence, two interesting thoughts came to mind as I went through the paper. One of them was related to the name of the trees along the walkway in St. Lawrence which is called the "Tree of Heaven". I thought about that and I think that is the wrong name for those trees. They should be called "Trees that die when sprayed with too much road salt". We are losing a large number of those trees based on the road salt that gets sprayed over by the snowplows. So if the designers of the next walkway could at least put the trees far enough away from the road or use less road salt we might be able to keep more of the trees.

Secondly, there was a marvellous drawing of the proposed schoolyard in front of Crombie Park apartments. It had grass, trees and lots of soft material. I think the kids would prefer to play in that schoolyard than the one which was built, which as you saw from the slide is simply a flat surface of asphalt. There is a little bit of sand under some play equipment, and that is all that they have to work with. I don't think that is a successful way for kids to go out and play. I have seen a number of schools in Toronto the asphalt out and put soft material down.

I have a list of successes that I think our neighbourhood has. The park is a very big success. Generally my perception is that the further east you go, the more successful it is. You start with the asphalt school yard and you work to softer and softer materials. I particularly enjoy the fountain at the extreme east end of the walkway. You can walk most of the length of The Esplanade seeing a small burble of white at the very far end, which becomes a pleasant fountain to sit beside when you get there.

The scale of St. Lawrence is pleasing. I do think that above nine to ten floors, you hit a certain limit. We have a building now that is fourteen stories and for some reason four extra floors do make a difference. I also note that it is nice to break the tops of the buildings with something that slopes backwards. That seems to work also.

The people in St. Lawrence are a success. I think nobody has mentioned, but I don't think that we should underestimate the value of resident controlled buildings. Co-operatives and other forms of resident controlled and active buildings are community builders. And in fact, when you are used to working within committees in your building, you very quickly meet the people that live there. You then bring that process out into the rest of the community. The way that people are organized within their buildings has a big part in the success of St. Lawrence.

The street layout is positive. To match what is going on in the rest of the City is successful. Also, housing designs provide surveillance over streets and open space. Kitchen spaces, in particular, or living spaces that look out over the streets are far more important to the success of those streets than a whole series of two ton pieces of dead metal sitting there every twenty feet. People talk about the cars being important, but I don't believe it from what I see or feel when I walk down the streets. I would much rather be able to see that someone's kitchen is there, close to the road and that there is a person back there making supper, than see a car sitting empty on the street. A car is not going to protect me.

Another point is affordability. I don't think that we should forget that St. Lawrence is a very affordable neighbourhood. In fact, the earlier projects are now forty percent behind the market in terms of their housing charges. And there is nothing like that kind of incentive to keep you interested in staying and interested in making it a healthy worthwhile place to be.

There are issues which I think could be addressed better. Right at the top of the list are children. If I am correct, there is only one woman who is going to be up here speaking to you today, and not surprisingly, I haven't heard anybody talking about children. Children in the neighbourhood could have far more attention paid to them. The kids appear to be secondary to what is going on in the neighbourhood plan. If we spent as much money thinking about kids as we do about parking, St. Lawrence would be a more successful neighbourhood. Some of the children will have spent their entire primary school life in portable classrooms. Our new school is now under construction, but portables are not the best way to receive your education.

I still believe that kids and cars don't mix well. In fact, a street with cars on it is not a fun place to play. It is hard to get the ball from underneath the car when you are playing ball hockey. It has an impact on your insurance rates when the sticks stray and hit your car. I think Ataratiri should put a couple of tens of thousands of dollars into paying someone to think just about kids for that neighbourhood.

I am not a big fan of the Crombie Park apartment building. It is a great architectural innovation. There is plenty of mixing going on in that building but anybody who lives there has no attachment to the ground whatsoever. They are three to four floors, in most cases, away from the lobby entrance which opens onto a schoolyard which leads into a paved surface which reaches a street. Any other building in St. Lawrence has greater attachment to the ground. I think if you are going to put a school in a building then it can't take over the entire ground floor area. I am waiting to see what the success of the second school will be. It is another form of mix -- school, community centre and daycare. I think that it will be more successful than the Crombie Park building.

From my perspective, cars are given too much emphasis in planning. Whether we like it or not, cars are disappearing from downtown Toronto as a priority. There are plenty of buildings in the core that were built with one unit to one car parking space that now have thirty to forty percent vacancy rates in those garages. St. Lawrence Phase B was built with 56% parking, and we are close to having a sufficient number of parking spaces. I think that there is room to have the same street pattern but restrict the access to cars and put parking underneath buildings. I agree entirely that garage doors do not make a great streetscape. I much prefer a garage to be replaced with a kitchen at grade. In terms of noise barriers, I think that cars in parking garages are a much more successful noise barrier than people in houses. We are trying to get the cars away from the buildings by sticking them into a parking garage that is a noise barrier. To me this is an ideal solution. I don't think that it is unreasonable to expect people to walk a block to their houses from where they park their car.

Garbage is not a great success story in St. Lawrence in my opinion. There are better ways of handling garbage than piling it twice a week in front of somebody's front door. That is what happens with most of the apartment buildings. I would hope that in the case of Ataratiri, the garbage could be taken to some central place where it could be screened and sheltered better than sitting in front of somebody's door. The picture that was shown of the south side of Windmill Line was taken at the end where the garbage is stored. People are facing garbage just fifteen feet from their front door. They can not use their yard during the day that the garbage is put out there. The treatment of garbage could be centralized and we then don't need those large trucks driving down every single street. We don't have to design those streets in order to fit the big trucks. There is no particular reason that somebody can't carry a bag of garbage to the end of their street and put it in a bin for collection.

Windmill Line Co-op's corridors were mentioned in the report. It has two story corridors that feed into three floors of housing. The idea was to break a large building with two hundred and six units down into smaller social components encouraging residents to mix in the corridors. This has been a complete success. To walk down my corridor and see people sitting on the stoops in the corridor chatting has been very gratifying. We failed to foresee the attraction of those corridors to children. They became an incredibly attractive play space for the children and a very valuable asset to the parents who were tired of dealing with kids in the apartments; they could say go play out in the corridor. This is often what you homeowners say in your house. "Go play outside".

Not having foreseen this situation, the corridors were not designed to accommodate the noise that is associated with children playing. There are no vestibules into the apartment buildings and there is no place that is enclosed. As a result, we now have a rule that kids can't play in the corridors in order to keep the noise bearable. We need to take a close look at the possibility of successful family housing in an apartment format. Windmill Line has 206 units and a 101 children so that gives you a sense of how many children there are in that large building. Proper design might allow us to accommodate more families. Certainly St. Lawrence has not been as successful at providing family units as they originally intended.

The only other thing that I will mention is that any open space that is isolated (such as the Esplanade Park) where you can't see into it readily from any heavily travelled street does tend to be a hazard. Open space which you can be seen from the street or which has activity going through it from the rest of the neighbourhood tends to be safer. It is not so much the cars as who and how many people are travelling there. Keeping up pedestrian traffic seems to be the key to safety, not necessarily the cars.

Paul Reuber, Speaker:

As an architect and a planner, I am almost frightened to say anything after that in-depth exposé. Certainly, I am optimistic about St. Lawrence and I have an office near it. Every time I walk through it I ponder a lot of the things that we are hearing about today. I think it boils down to what the vision of a city is all about. I firmly believe that what St. Lawrence has going for it is that it is a vision which entails the idea of people living together as opposed to people living apart. It is very interesting, if you look at the history of urban disasters. I think the human culture has been able to produce really bad cities for only the last hundred years, which is in some ways, on the time line a remarkable historical success. Michel presented a list of failures caused by planning, which is actually a product of the industrial revolution.

We have to live with planning and we have to live with architecture but we seem to have to build cities all at once. I think therein is the key to the second thing that makes things go wrong. How do you actually build a city? Most cities are not conceived by anyone as an entity all at once but have the element of history and time in them. I think that is probably the ingredient that for most architects and planners is very elusive indeed. St. Lawrence, was conceived at one time and brought on stream over a period of ten years. If there are any shortcomings at all, I think they have to do with that. How do you introduce the kind of shifts and cultural changes that occur through history?

What is interesting about St. Lawrence is the triumph of the city plan over architecture. I firmly believe that very good architecture can't save a bad plan. On the other hand, I believe that a very good plan can save mediocre architecture. And to some extent, I think that is what has happened at St. Lawrence.

A lot of people don't understand St. Lawrence, including a lot of the architects who were involved. I am presently involved with the last co-op that I believe will be going in St. Lawrence, and I find that most of the planners at City Hall don't understand St. Lawrence. Certainly the Parks Department doesn't.

It is interesting that if you walk through St. Lawrence, you see parking on the little side streets and mews, shown on the original plan. Architects kind of threw up their hands in disgust and said "If we can't make it work, can we use this street over here for parking?" and planners said "Oh, what the hell, go ahead". A lot of the buildings are actually quite ugly and yet on the other hand they are very forgivable. They are like unattractive people; they have very good personalities and that is what saves them. I think that the planning insisted that those buildings have good personalities. The architecture wasn't good and I must admit, budgets played a very important part in producing some very unattractive buildings.

The democratic element of St. Lawrence is very exciting. The thing that makes me wake up bolt upright at four in the morning is not only the implication of my liability insurance but also the whole notion that North America is in a position of crisis vis a vis its urbanity. I firmly believe that a culture that loses sight of how to build a city is, in fact, a culture in decline.

It is very important for us to ponder the alternatives to St. Lawrence. I think part of producing culture is building a collective realm with a strong, viable and democratic series of public spaces. Without that, we lose sight of who we all are as a collective entity. That is probably the triumph of St. Lawrence. It is filled with streets which are generators of public culture. In theory, they were to be designed as places in which people wanted to be in. Roads and traffic departments still see streets as pipes for getting people from places A to B. The Planning Department in the early 70's and Cityhome had a vision which wasn't shared by Metro Roads and all those people who make lies of architects and planners. If there is any ambiguity in St. Lawrence, it has occurred because not everyone was on side and not everyone really believed that the whole idea of a democratic city full of public spaces was something worth achieving.

I want to say one thing more thing about what St. Lawrence means for all of us. It is an incredibly interesting, viable and resilient prototype which we all can now look at as we are in a position to design other places. We are involved with a large project in Etobicoke in which St. Lawrence has proved a very effective model to demonstrate to a lot of people, including the private sector, that many of the planning ideas are worth pursuing.

One final comment on how all of this can backfire. We were discussing how public spaces should work with the Parks Department in Etobicoke. For many people in the Parks Department the image of a park is, some place in which you can't see buildings. So we took them on a walk through St. Lawrence. Before they arrived they decided that they should speak "man to man" with the Parks Department here in Toronto just so that they weren't unduly influenced by an architect or planner or fast talker or anybody else.

When they arrived they said: "Ah ha, we don't have to go through St. Lawrence because we phoned up the Parks Department in Toronto and they said that St. Lawrence was a horrible failure". I couldn't believe it, those were their words just about before we were about to go on a walking tour. I said:

"Well, can you tell me a little more about that?" and they replied, They said that the grass gets worn out and the trees are a problem and there are roads and streets where there should be more park space, and then they ended up by saying but evidently the people like it."

As we walked through St. Lawrence for the next two hours we were desperately trying to find people who liked the place so that we could introduce them to the people from Etobicoke.

I really believe that there has to be architectural and planning theory, but it has to revolve around the whole democratic ideal. If we just read the newspapers and look in the news driving the last couple of months we notice an enormous resurgence in Eastern Europe. A lot of those cities (with some minor exceptions) still have all their streets and their democratic places. It is interesting that there are a number of incredible changes taking place in Eastern Europe because everybody can congregate and demonstrate in the streets. In a way I can see a similar thing happening in St. Lawrence. In fact, I have seen it already. When people think there are too many luxury condominiums, or if people don't like our project at the end of Berkeley St., there is a gathering together of everybody in St. Lawrence. That this is a very natural outcome of the notion that the sum of all of the buildings in St. Lawrence is actually much greater than each one as an individual. I think that important. You don't see that reaction in the suburbs or in places where the single-family house is seen as the ideal of how to plan a city.

4.3 DESIGNING ST. LAWRENCE: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Marc Baraness:

I would first like to thank all of the panellists and Dave and Steven for their presentation. We should use about twenty minutes to have a discussion on main subject presented: the difference of perception between how some spaces, have been conceived by designers and experienced by people. What has been talked about is the difference between the first assisted housing projects like Bain Avenue (1912) and later projects like Regent Park, Moss Park and Alexandra Park. There is also a difference of position between Christopher Hume saying that "this is not design" and our presenters and Paul Reuber saying that the street pattern was design, even if it was just continuing the existing streets.

Questions were asked about what were major and minor views, how St. Lawrence was linked to the rest of the City; and the relationship between public and private spaces to create some street safety. Other questions were raised on the design of spaces for children and how do we deal mundane items such as servicing.

Elsbeth Heyworth:

I am on the Neighbourhood Advisory Council for Ataratiri. I would like to make a general comment on something which struck me very forceably last night and again today. Christopher Hume suggested that housing is too important to be left to theorists. Yesterday, Frank Lewinberg talked a lot about the importance of citizen participation and mix. We were told constantly about the importance of mix and having different categories of people involved. David Hulchanski also talked about public participation, and there I was basking in the recognition of being on the an Advisory Council. However, we were faced by a phalanx of white male professionals sitting at the table. It is important for us to ensure that a mix of non-professionals are heard from. For me, that clearly includes gender, people from other organizations and other ethnic groups. I don't think that we can afford at any level to ignore that. It is an interesting and useful conference, I have in but I can say with some passion that we must at all times include this mix of people.

David Gordon:

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, we have to plead "guilty as charged". This issue was very much in our thoughts while trying to assemble the panels. We were caught between our personal views, which support your position, and an interest in learning from the key people involved 10 to 15 years ago. There is no doubt about it, there were a lot of white male professionals involved in the process a decade ago. I know from teaching now and looking at the people who are working their way up through the current planning and housing bureaucracies that when we go to do the evaluation of Bathurst/Spadina and Ataratiri, the composition of the panel will be better balanced.

Heather Urquhart:

I am, a sometime resident of Toronto, a prospective resident of Ataratiri, and a student of planning at the University of British Columbia. I want to go back to the issue of cars in the neighbourhood. I have a personal bias against excess accommodation of cars for environmental reasons and also for their interaction with people and especially children. I was interested to hear Mr. Labbe's comments about cars in the St-Lawrence Neighbourhood in contrast to the message from a lot of urban designers about the necessity of accommodating cars and the wonderful car/people interaction. I have trouble believing this sort of thing. I would like to hear a little bit more from perhaps Mr. Labbe and some of the other panelists about what are the essentials of accommodating cars in these kinds of neighbourhoods. What can we do without?

Michel Labbé:

There isn't an easy answer to that. The cars have to be accommodated. People do drive cars and cars do come into the neighbourhood, and if you don't accommodate them, they'll find a place anyway. Anybody who has had the privilege of going to Europe can see that cars will find a place to be even if you don't want them. There is a sense in St-Lawrence and in this conference that cars travelling on streets make safe streets. I don't believe that, from my personal experience. We need access into the neighbourhood for cars, and perhaps 40% of the streets or, every second one, might not need car access but emergency vehicle access only. They should probably be hard surfaced but not designed for cars all the time. The idea would be to get pedestrians and bicycles enjoying those streets so that you still get the traffic. Without garages the kitchens would be down at grade right beside the street. You must have "people contact". It costs us \$15,000-\$30,000, to stick a car under an apartment building or even a townhouse. That is a lot of money. I've been told by other people that it costs about \$8,600 to put a car on a surface lot. Between those two figures is potential savings, plus perhaps a more credible way of dealing with cars by putting them all in one place along the edge of the neighbourhood.

The architects and planners can debate the urban design consequences of that suggestion.

David Gordon:

I would like to disagree with some of Michel's comments. I think that the least successful loop street in St-Lawrence is the one behind 176 Esplanade, the CityHome building on the corner of Sherbourne and The Esplanade. In that block, the designers made a street that was cut off for vehicles except for emergency access, exactly as Michel suggested. Steven Fong showed a slide of the pedestrian street with the trees in the boxes and a generally lifeless appearance. Yes, ball hockey is easier, but I contrast that street to its immediate neighbour, in David B. Archer Co-op. The loop street goes under the building and into a very tight mews. There are cars and bicycles parked on the street, kids playing, people going in and out to their cars and walking along. It somehow feels like it works better. The trick, I think, is to make local streets that the traffic engineers hate, with narrow roads and trees, (and I'm speaking as a former traffic engineer). An incredible amount of work was done to find a way to put trees on narrow streets in St-Lawrence and accommodate utilities. You need narrow streets with trees, with front doors (not garages), porches and stoops and stairs that people can sit on.

The details are really important in terms of the front yard design and a clear definition between public and private space. When a driver turns around the corner onto something like Lower George Street, he doesn't feel like he should be going 50 kilometres per hour.

Marc Baraness:

I think this question has prompted desire for response from all the panelists. I am going to ask them to make some short comments.

Steven Fong:

I think one thing that's intriguing to me about this car issue is that, as Christopher Hume pointed out, one of the goals of Moss Park was to get rid of the car, precisely to provide more play areas. That concept turned out to be a failure on a number of levels. By making a district that did not have normal streets, by making it different, it tended to isolate the project. My sense is that I agree with the goals of having safer places for kids to play and of getting the cars out of the way, but in some ways it will take a lot of design thought to begin to make those things occur.

The issue is also related to the notion of ganging up car parking in large garages. Again, I think that the jury is out on what is the best way to do that. Most of the women's groups that I've spoken to in Toronto are generally against large parking garages. They view them as unsafe. There are a number of different opinions about whether cars should be parked individually or in garages. Again, I feel it's something that will take a lot of design initiative to find suitable solutions for most people.

Paul Reuber:

St-Lawrence is a step in the right direction for the simple that reason if you look at statistics before St-Lawrence, we always had to provide (at the request of the planning department) about 1.25 or 1.5 car spaces per unit. In St-Lawrence, it is down to 0.56 per unit which is about half. I think that is optimistic right now. I really want to talk about a vision of the city and where we don't really have to rely on the car. That is really important when we look at everything from the ozone layer to pollution to the foul streets that we will have in the very near future. I think St-Lawrence by the very nature of having a large residential neighbourhood close to the city core was an attempt to address the whole issue of whether you actually needed a car if you live downtown. I would certainly like to see emphasis on a city which becomes integrated enough where we don't have to rely upon a car. They are a real pain in terms of paying for them, dealing with them, cleaning up after them and storing them.

I often think that the only place where we would get such an innovation was from the public sector. I was on a radio show two days ago talking about the City of Toronto's new competition for Main Street design. I mentioned that we were involved in a number of main street projects for private developers, and we would submit them to Toronto as part of their competition after they were finished. I got a call the next day from a developer who has a piece of land fairly close to Yonge and Dundas and he asked me whether I thought that would be eligible for Main Streets. I asked him, "What do you mean?" and he said "Do you think we could build lots of residential on the second, third and fourth floor and not have to put in any parking? That struck me as a really interesting comment. Here is a guy who is willing to get in the spirit of Main Street design, (which is to have residential uses above commercial uses on a Main Street) and is quite prepared to even build rental housing with no parking in the Central Core. I was forced to tell him that his biggest enemy will be the Planning Department.

I would really like to see more emphasis on décar-ing the entire centre of the city. I think that whenever you build a garage it will get full, just like whenever you put in a round, it will get full. If we just start providing for less and less cars, an automobile will ultimately become one of the expensive options or prices that people pay to live in a really good city.

Richard Tyssen:

This is a comment, not a response. I am from the Co-op Housing Federation and my job is to build housing sites for developing housing and see it integrated into the urban fabric. The dilemma I see in this, discussion on cars, is because they are the major system of transporting people now. In any neighbourhood, if the essential way that people move around is by the automobile, you can't deny that or just ignore it, if you feel we must move from the automobile. The dilemma becomes, what do you do in a period of transition? I think that the comment about the environmental impact is probably the most critical point. If we had no reason to change, if cars were fine, if we didn't mind breathing the exhaust, and if we didn't mind the noise, if we didn't mind the resources that were being put into cars then the automobile, probably wouldn't be a problem for us. We could just go on doing what we're doing now. I don't think we can do that, so we have to change.

We are designing new neighbourhoods like St. Lawrence. Paul is involved in designing the Goodyear site, David is involved in designing the McGuinness Distillery Site, and lots of us are involved in other fairly major efforts that are new neighbourhoods. What do we do if we choose not to ignore the fact that people get around by car? We are going to have to accommodate the car in the short term. How do we do it? I'll just offer a suggestion or two. Etobicoke requires 150% parking (1.5 spaces per unit) an enormous amount of parking. It costs \$20,000 or \$30,000 to provide each space. Why don't we offer people an option if we are going to eliminate or try to move away from cars? Why don't we contribute that \$20,000 or \$30,000 to some kind of an alternative. In other words, you would offer people the option of either providing the parking or contributing the equivalent of the parking capital cost to develop an alternative system. Without an alternative system, we are never going to move away from cars.

Another idea might be to require people to pay more for using a car and that money is also contributed towards developing an alternative. With an alternative to the private automobile, we can design neighbourhoods that are more user friendly, where outdoor spaces are places where we both congregate and circulate. To be more friendly to congregating and less to circulating we need something, such as, an environmental tax on gasoline for developing an alternative.

Reggie Modlich:

I was intrigued by Elspeth's comments. Gender plays quite an important part in the product that we have criticized generally and the product we are striving to create. I think that competitiveness, the importance of privacy and of individualism, that is centred around male white professionals, have given us the values that we are questioning in the cities we have today. The importance of children, child care, collective values, and co-operative values, are new and different values. They are not inherently gender-based but are values that are more akin to roles we have been playing as women. I think that these values are very important to bring back into the way we shape our cities, our neighbourhoods, and communities. We should make a conscious effort in that direction.

Question from the Floor:

I have two questions. The first one is about cars. Can there be a Canadian counterpart to the Dutch woonerf? Is there a way to build flexibility for changes into a concept like this, because currently I don't know if residents can change their units.

Dave Gordon:

On the first question about a woonerf, the main enemy of them in Toronto is the snow plough. You must confront the reality of the Public Works Department's requirement to turn snow ploughs through travelled streets. That is a problem that perhaps the landscape architects can address.

On the second question, condominium owners are permitted to make changes to the interior of their units, while co-operative residents must ask permission of a committee of their building.

Comment

Surely the streets are more than simply access for cars. Streets give you an address. They give you a presence. They allow you to tell somebody that "I live at 35 Smith Drive." One of the complaints about older public developments is that you can't get a pizza delivered because when they say Unit 35, West Courtyard, nobody knows how to get there. The problem is not just cars. Cars are a part of our society and the first requirement of a housing project is to be part of its society. This kind of thinking is the kind of thinking that led directly to Moss Park and Regent Park. A planner, or architect should not impose his or her would-be values on the people who will living in the project. You should start from the needs of the people who are going to live in the housing. Not whether I judge those needs to be worthwhile, but what are their needs? You draw up an inventory and you try to come up with something that fulfills human needs, rather than impose your own value system on other people. It is not for architects or urban planners to tell us whether cars are good or bad but to service the needs that we have.



5. BUILDING ST. LAWRENCE

5. BUILDING ST. LAWRENCE

David Gordon:

Our third panel will focus on Building St. Lawrence. Our moderator will be Barbara Lee, manager of Planning and Resources for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Barbara was involved in St. Lawrence at the beginning of CMHC's investment. I understand that Ottawa was scared by the amount of money that they were about to pour into those abandoned auto yards. The plan didn't comply to the CMHC site planning handbook. It didn't comply to any density or parking standards. It didn't comply with the park standards. They were absolutely petrified that it was not going to turn out well. We are lucky to have Barbara here to share in the discussion of where CMHC's money went. Her guidance and ability to hold off the concern from Head Office had a great deal to do with the flexibility the people building St. Lawrence enjoyed.

Barbara Lee, Moderator:

Rick Peddie is a former CMHC staff member but he saw the light about ten years ago and became intimately involved with St. Lawrence. At the time he left CMHC, he said the lights were dimming in Ottawa and the light was all on Toronto. He began as the Director of Planning for the City of Toronto Housing Department. Two years later, as the Director of Development, he implemented Phase B and C of St. Lawrence. He is now the general manager of land development for the City Housing Department and he is responsible for the Ataratiri land development as well as securing and developing lands for housing throughout the city. Rick, please tell us how St. Lawrence was built.

Richard Peddie, Speaker:

I will try to step back a little bit and look at St. Lawrence as a developer would. A reference was made to Michael Dennis in yesterday's comments. Michael Dennis is a developer, and the tradition of the City Housing Department is to view itself as a developer in the social context. We like to call ourselves social entrepreneurs that don't make much money.

5.1 PAPER: DEVELOPING ST. LAWRENCE

by Richard Peddie, General Manager, Land Development
City of Toronto Housing Department

Building the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is simultaneously to be involved in a complex physical development process and to have the responsibility for creating a community. The former has its own imperatives, in terms of all the normal things one associates with the development business - buying land, letting contracts, managing finances and negotiating leases and sales, among others. Creating a new community of 10,000 people who have to live in, and with, the fruits of the development process is a serious undertaking. Inevitably the two are intertwined and interact over the time it takes to complete the physical development schedule, and beyond, perhaps forever, because communities themselves change and both subtly and explicitly move to change their environment (through redevelopment at one extreme to internal revitalization of units and buildings). One major challenge of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood has been, and continues to be, to adapt it to the changing needs of the population in place, to the political milieu and other changes in the external environment over a 20-year period, while maintaining both the physical and social vision which prompted the development in the first place.

The purpose of this paper is to talk briefly about that vision, to explain how the City has gone about implementing it, particularly over the last 12 years, and to discuss how the precepts of the development process have been maintained or altered as a result of time and the changing environment.

5.1.1 Context and Guiding Philosophy

St. Lawrence was initiated in mid-1974 at an important point in the political history of Toronto. Control of City Council was in the hands of a reform group, one main platform of which was to take the City back into the housing business, from which it had extricated itself in the late 1960s. At that time the City was undergoing what has proven to be a permanent crisis in affordable rental housing.

Significant program changes with respect to non-profit housing were also taking place at the federal level in Ottawa. These changes gave the City access to a battery of programs offering low cost federal funds and subsidies, which could be combined in a variety of ways, and topped up with subsidies from the provincial level of government.

Nineteen seventy four was also one of those rare occasions when activities in planning seem to come together with needs in the housing area. At that time the City was actively engaging in detailed neighbourhood planning and development exercises. The King-Parliament area, in which St. Lawrence is situated, was an obvious area for action given its run-down character, its historic significance, and its proximity to the downtown. Since the bulk of the land was in some form of public ownership it offered the possibility of relative ease of assembly and a good chance of success as a public development endeavour.

At that time it was clearly recognized that large public land development had suffered historically from being single purpose (generally housing) and allocated often to a single income group. Therefore, a neighbourhood which could be identified as a "public project" was to be avoided at all costs.

Since the new neighbourhood lay in an area of extreme diversity in terms of land uses and functions, the whole notion of a mixed-used neighbourhood was appropriate. In this context "mix" was to be extended beyond simply "land use" to encompass the provision of housing for low and moderate income people, to encourage a range of different forms of tenure (municipal non-profit, non-profit co-operatives and various forms of freehold), a range of age groups, family and non-family housing and different forms of residential and commercial buildings.

To ensure that the philosophy of social mix would be maintained it was planned that in excess of 60 percent of all housing in the neighbourhood would be funded through the assisted housing programs of the federal and provincial governments. This would ensure that the majority of people living in the neighbourhood would be earning less than the city medians for their household size. This assisted housing was to be complemented with various types of private ownership housing. Significantly, though, there appeared to be no priority given to private rental housing; although, at the time, there were a number of government subsidy programs targeted at that sector of the housing market.

5.1.2 The Major Stated Objectives

While St. Lawrence was largely conceived of as a housing development, public and political discussion elaborated on that theme.

1. General Objectives of the Neighbourhood

- ▶ To create a predominantly residential, mixed-use area.
- ▶ To meet housing goals particularly with respect to low and moderate income households.
- ▶ To create a typical inner city neighbourhood in terms of physical, social and economic structure.
- ▶ To encourage the participation of future residents, workers and the public at large in the formulation of plans and development at all stages.
- ▶ To encourage the conservation of existing buildings and structures in the area which are of architectural or historic value.
- ▶ To create a satisfactory living environment by limiting the heights and form of buildings to suit specific residential functions in different parts of the neighbourhood.

2. Specific Housing and Residential Neighbourhood Goals:

- ▶ To provide between one-quarter and one-half of all new dwelling units as housing suitable for families with children (i.e., two or more bedrooms within four storeys of grade).
- ▶ To target two-thirds of all new dwelling units in the eastern two-thirds of St. Lawrence to low and moderate income tenants.
- ▶ To encourage a small proportion of housing east of Jarvis which is not assisted in order to further the goal of a mixed-income residential population.
- ▶ To leave the one-third lying to the west of Jarvis Street for high density development by private interest groups, for about 1,000 units.
- ▶ To encourage a range of tenure types - municipal non-profit rental, non-profit co-operatives, private non-profits, condominiums and freehold home ownership.
- ▶ To encourage a variety of housing producers to create a diversity of building forms types of housing and management styles.
- ▶ To divide the neighbourhood into residence areas mainly of low and medium density (ranging from 45 to 150 units per acre). To create barriers of medium density apartments shielding enclaves of low density housing on collector rather than on arterial roads.

In the documentation there is explicit reference to the need to incorporate commercial and industrial activity into the neighbourhood, both to serve future residents and to support the retention of industrial land in the City. Estimates of the extent of commercial/industrial land to be incorporated varied from about 600,000 to 1,000,000 sq. ft.; representing about .04 times the gross area of the site.

The over-riding financial objective of the new neighbourhood appeared to have been to "break even". Although detailed financial analyses were carried out, in co-operation with CMHC, it is difficult to find explicit discussion of what the "break even" objective meant in terms of costs and revenues.

5.1.3 The Development Program










The development of St. Lawrence has followed a traditional type of programmed approach - beginning with land assembly, proceeding through site preparation and servicing, leasing and sale, the building program and culminating in final occupancy. The phasing sequence, shown on Figure 5-1, for servicing and building, was basically to start at the centre (Phase A) and to proceed thereafter to Phase B, to ensure that the social housing objectives of St. Lawrence were met in the early years. Phase C, the private parcels, were to be developed in tune with private market conditions. The time frame anticipated for full development of the first two phases was 10 to 15 years (from 1974).

The characteristics of the development process were as follows:

- (i) Land assembly of the initial 44 acres took place relatively quickly. About 28 of the 44 acres were already in some form of public ownership. The remaining 16 acres was acquired through purchase of two parcels and the expropriation of the remaining 12. Although the land was largely assembled by 1977, settlement of the expropriations was completed only 1988. With the addition of the parcel known as Phase C-2 in 1980, the total cost of assembly came to about \$28.5 million. It is worth noting that close to market value was paid for both public and private lands acquired.
- (ii) Financial planning for the development basically comprised the securing of a mixture of preferential mortgage financing from CMHC, grants from CMHC (under the Community Services Contribution Program), no-interest loans from the Province of Ontario (under the Ontario Housing Action Program) and civic matching funds on the mortgages. Total mortgages, loans and grants totalled about \$22 million. As Table 5-1 shows, the development became self-financing to handle the overall costs of \$43.1 million. An unstated, but widely accepted part of the financial planning, was that the sale of lands to the private sector would underwrite the cost of producing the community infrastructure and the non-profit and co-operative buildings. This objective has not only been reached but, as Table 5-1 shows, the entire development is showing a projected surplus in excess of \$18 million. Again, although it was unstated, the investment value of the entire development was anticipated to be high. The data on Table 5-2, which are conservative, indicate investments of over \$300 million. This has had an appreciable impact on assessment revenues (somewhere in the order of 5 to 10 times greater than in the predevelopment phase).
- (iii) Site servicing and environmental clean up were highly co-ordinated activities in the planning and development of St. Lawrence. Although delays occurred from time to time in the servicing of each phase, and individual parcels, generally was timely.
- (iv) The building phases of St. Lawrence are still continuing and will probably require another four years to be completed. Control of these phases was principally by means of the timing of the installation of service infrastructure, by the rezoning and development review processes, by the leasing or sale of specific parcels and by the state of the private market. Although 60 percent of the buildings depended upon the availability of subsidy allocations from CMHC and the Province of Ontario, provision of these has not proven to be a major stumbling block for St. Lawrence.

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

LEGEND

	PARKS		STREETS
	HIGH DENSITY		MEWS
	MEDIUM DENSITY		PHASE A
	LOW DENSITY		PHASE B
			PHASE C

FLATIRON BUILDING

ST LAWRENCE CENTRE

VICTORIA ST.

CHURCH ST.

THE ESPLANADE

MARKET ST.

ST LAWRENCE MARKET

JARVIS ST.

GEORGE ST.

FREDERICK ST.

SHERBOURNE ST.

KING ST. E.

PRINCESS ST.

ONTARIO ST.

BERKELEY ST.

PARLIAMENT ST.

GEORGE BROWN COLLEGE

ADELAIDE ST. E.

BERKELEY THEATRE

THE TORONTO SUN NEWSPAPER

HISTORICAL BUILDING

PRIVATE DEV. + RETAIL COMMERCIAL

MEWS

ARCHER CO-OP

MEWS

HISTORICAL BUILDING

MEWS

THE ESPLANADE

MEWS

HARMONY CO-OP

MEWS

WOODSWORTH CO-OP

CATHEDRAL CO-OP

MEWS

FRONT ST. E.

PRINCESS ST.

MEWS

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SOURCE: City of Toronto Housing Department

FIGURE 5-1

THE KIRKLAND PARTNERSHIP
IN ARCHITECTURE

There were a few debates around the application of the generalized design guidelines contained in each proposal call, and around leasehold agreements, but the disposition process for the social housing parcels proceeded expeditiously, with a couple of exceptions.

The major areas of contention have risen in connection with the private parcels, particularly when a rezoning is required, and around the issues of affordability and resale price control. And very recently there has been public concern around the rezoning of one parcel for social housing. The paper will turn to the significance of these in the next section.

The products of the building phases themselves have been a bone of contention from time to time. But, in general terms they are in conformity with both the general objectives and the specific goals of St. Lawrence as they pertain to the range of tenure types (Table 5-3), to the income targets (in 1982, 85 percent of all households were in the first three quartiles), the family composition (in 1982, 42 percent were families with children), the built form (a range of building scales and types) and the generally-prescribed quadrangle layout of the blocks.

By-and-large, the implementation phase of the development program, in physical terms, has followed the original precepts. Even the development of Phase C-2, now being rezoned for 511 social housing units, applies some of the original design principles (e.g. in the use of internal quadrangles for quietness and privacy).

5.1.4 Completing The Development

The preceding sections illustrate that the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood has tended to follow its objectives quite closely as it proceeds to completion. But within that general statement there are qualifications which illustrate also that flexibility and adaptability to change on the part of the project developers is an integral part of the process. In other words, the builders of St. Lawrence are part of a process which will consume the better part of two decades to complete. In that time period their thinking about St. Lawrence has changed, the political milieu in which they operate has changed several times and, probably most important, a community of some 7,000 residents has grown up around them. Finally the areas directly adjacent to St. Lawrence have developed and become populated accordingly.

The private developments are those which, recently, have generated concern. The fundamental problem appears to have been a change in political philosophy that it is inappropriate for the private sector to benefit from public assemblies, particularly in the face of a continued crisis in the availability of affordable housing. In the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood this affected two phases of the development, which are worth examining here:

- (i) The Phase B Townhouses (127 in total) were tendered for development as freehold properties in 1980 as part of the goal of encouraging a diversified tenure mix and social structure in the neighbourhood. The tendering coincided with a peak period in the Toronto housing market accompanied by rampant speculation in the homeownership market. Anxious to be seen not to be contributing to speculation, City Council decreed that 55 of the townhouses be sold at \$59,900 per unit (those sold at market price ranged from \$70,000 to \$85,000) and that the resale prices be controlled for a period of five years in accordance with changes in the Consumer Price Index.

TABLE 5-1

ST. LAWRENCE: COST AND REVENUE PROJECTIONS TO 1989*		
<u>Cost</u>		
Acquisition	\$28,500,000.00	(66%)
Development	6,000,000.00	(14%)
Consultants	1,700,000.00	(4%)
Administration	900,000.00	(2%)
Carrying Costs	6,000,000.00	(14%)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$43,100,000.00	(100%)
 <u>Revenues</u>		
Recoveries from Sales Leases/Joint Venture	\$60,000,000.00	
Grants	1,372,100.00	
Miscellaneous	163,124.00	
	<hr/>	
Projected Balance	\$18,435,224.00	

* All numbers are current dollars

TABLE 5-2

ST. LAWRENCE: TOTAL INVESTMENT ESTIMATES TO 1989	
Housing (4400 units at \$65,000/unit average)	\$286.0 million
Commercial Space (332,000 sq.ft. @ \$65/ft.)	21.6 million
Public Parking	10.0 million
Parks	1.5 million
Roads/Services	4.0 million
	<hr/>
	\$323.1 million

As expected, those which have sold following the lifting of resale price controls have done so at market values which today are in the \$250,000 plus range. Owners who were willing to wait out the control period would have made a modest to high return on their investment, depending on assumptions about rates of return in the last eight years. In absolute terms, of course, they would have made a large, tax-free capital gain to be invested elsewhere. Turnover statistics for this group in St. Lawrence indicate that about half have moved and half remained. This represents a fairly normal turnover rate in the ownership market: one which would have likely occurred without the controls. The fact that 50 percent of the original middle-income owners are still living in the neighbourhood is some proof of its success in creating a stable, attractive community.

The experiment with resale price controls on just one component of the ownership stock in St. Lawrence was politically motivated. It is unlikely that it will have any lasting effect on either the price structure or the population composition of the neighbourhood. At worst it created higher than average speculative gains for some households. At best, because it artificially depressed initial prices for some townhouses, it enabled middle-income owners to secure a niche in St. Lawrence;

- (ii) On the Market parking lot [Jarvis/Front] a rezoning proposal is underway to permit 430 private condominiums, 90,000 sq. ft. of commercial, 100 Cityhome units and 1,000 parking spaces. The site was designated in the original plan for private sector housing only. The sale of the site was to achieve two goals, as before: to contribute to the tenure mix and to generate funds to subsidize the social housing. Because of the continued difficulty of securing affordable sites for social housing, City Council, in approving a public/private joint venture on the site, designated 100 units for social housing as a requirement. This will not detract from the overall tenure goals of St. Lawrence because of other private developments. The political issue raised is that none of the site should be for private development because of the shortage of land for social housing. This argument has been raised in spite of the fact that it was clearly demonstrated that the revenues from the joint venture, even with the inclusion of the Cityhome building, would be sufficient to purchase land for more units than could be accommodated on the site itself.

In both of these cases the residents themselves have taken different sides. The general consensus amongst the private homeowners and condominium dwellers is that the neighbourhood probably has a sufficiently high quota of social housing. Among the social housing tenants there is probably not a clear consensus, but a general opinion is held that the social housing works well to provide a good income mix, so why build more luxury condominiums?

One of the hallmarks of emerging communities is that, as they mature, there is increasing resistance to change. St. Lawrence is an interesting and different community because it has attempted to be heterogeneous, in terms of tenure and social composition. This, coupled with its central location in an increasingly expensive housing market and surrounded by a growing number of high-priced condominium developments, has served to generate two quite different kinds of responses to changes to the original development plan. Interestingly enough, and assuming the three remaining parcels get developed as proposed, the entire development will be completed in three years pretty much in conformity with the goals and objectives presented earlier in this paper. St. Lawrence will not have been built in the time envisaged - but it will contain the tenure mix and social composition intended - and it will have broken even financially.

TABLE 5-3

ST. LAWRENCE: TENURE STATUS (1989)						
	Occupied		Planning and/or Construction		All Units	
	Project	Units	Projects	Units	No.	Percent
Municipal Non-Profit	5	967	2	209	1176	26.7
Non-Profit Co-op	8	847	3	380	1229	27.9
Private Non-Profit	1	136	1	121	257	5.9
Freehold/Condo	4	960	2	778*	1738	39.5
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	18	2912	8	1488	4400	100.0

*Includes one condo technically outside St. Lawrence Planning Area, but effectively in the neighbourhood

I want to finish by saying something that is not in my paper. The Ataratiri Neighbourhood is under a lot of scrutiny and some people think there's a disaster scenario in the making. I would like to leave you with a thought that perhaps Ataratiri will be easier than St. Lawrence for a couple of reasons. One is that St. Lawrence, Harbourfront, Bathurst/Spadina and Frankel/Lambert have all paved the way to show that the public sector can actually carry out large scale successful public developments which would include housing and other uses. So the kind of resistance that one may have encountered earlier on to a St. Lawrence will have vanished. Ataratiri is faced with some fairly significant environmental standards which did not exist when the St. Lawrence was planned. They were aware that an environmental cleanup was needed and in parts of St. Lawrence we took off three to five feet of overburden. We sealed basements and we did methane monitoring and venting and all that sort of thing, but not at the scale that is expected these days.

There is sufficient interest in developing in the centre of the city on both the part of the public and the private sector, that chances are that, growing from the experience in St. Lawrence, the private sector itself will be very interested in investing in Ataratiri. This investment will help make Ataratiri a financial success both in terms of the overall finances and in the subsidization of the social uses in the neighbourhood. So I don't particularly take a longterm negative view of Ataratiri. I take a very healthy positive view, and much of that view has been formulated because I was fortunate enough to be asked to implement St. Lawrence and the Frankel/Lambert Neighbourhood and to build Bathurst/Spadina and Ataratiri. But with this behind us, I think can we look forward positively to making Ataratiri a success too.

5.2. PANEL DISCUSSION - BUILDING ST. LAWRENCE

Barbara Lee, Moderator:

Our three respondents are all dedicated Co-op and Non-Profit aficionados. They were all founding members of the Co-operative Housing Foundation of Toronto. Their careers have differed a little bit since then. Chris Smith was an original developer of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. He worked for the City Housing department, is an architect, and has been in private development. I know Chris best as a resource group sponsor of many Co-operatives, including some in St. Lawrence, and I am sure that there will be some in Ataratiri.

Chris Smith, Speaker:

I have always been interested in history and it is still interesting to look at the history of this area. One of the things that awed many of us when we started the St. Lawrence Project was the historical significance of this area. In 1793, John Graves Simcoe (who was a great town planner as we all know) laid out his square box along Front Street from George to Parliament, from Front to Adelaide, and that was the beginning of the Town of York. Front Street, which was always muddy, was where Muddy York got its name. We had some awe at the responsibility of actually developing the waterfront of the original town of York and integration of St. Lawrence to the city, also had a powerful pull to it.

As many of you know, the embankment between Front Street and the Esplanade was actually the original lakefront. The Esplanade itself has an interesting history in that it was dedicated as a waterfront park. In the mid nineteenth century it was immediately stolen from the city by a few nefarious aldermen, who somehow ended up owning and building warehouses for their own profit and gain. It really wasn't until the 1970's that the park was recovered for the people of Toronto.

The Grand Trunk railway was built along the south side of the Esplanade. The design of the sidewalk along the south side of the Esplanade is somehow supposed to represent the actual location of the railway. I notice there is not a plaque for that and I think somebody should do some research on that.

We also talked about the type of buildings that should be built. We talked about street related buildings, and about nineteenth century concepts. It all gave St. Lawrence the kind of character it has. When we were first kicking around the picture of what it was going to look like, we all had views of what it should be. I fortunately not only had the opportunity to think about it in its initial form, but was involved in the development of the Caroline Co-op in the second phase after I had left the City. With the Caroline Co-op I was able to really go even further and develop a project which is exactly what I originally conceived. Caroline Co-op was certainly what was in my head, when we had the initial discussions about what the housing in St. Lawrence should be.

A few other historical things about the people. The mother of St. Lawrence was Jane Jacobs. Through the Sixties and Seventies, Jane was our high priest. We should not forget that many of her ideas started people thinking about the kind of place that St. Lawrence is - the reintroduction of the neighbourhood into the downtown.

The other point that Barbara mentioned was that birth of the co-op sector in Toronto was tied into St. Lawrence. There had been some experimental projects prior to St. Lawrence, but the first federal program came in 1974. One of the great difficulties we had was that we really didn't have any significant development groups to build this great new housing idea. Secondly, we were having serious difficulties with municipal councils and ratepayers' groups explaining co-op housing. We would run into the old argument, "Well, I'm sure it works very well in Holland, but it will never work in Canada".

There was a hidden (and sometimes not so hidden) agenda to create co-op housing in St. Lawrence not only to be an example of what could be done but to show people and councillors from other areas, "This is what co-op housing looks like". It was also used to develop the development arm of the co-op housing sector. I think it is fair to say that both the Labour Council and the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto cut their teeth in St. Lawrence and subsequently Lantana was created in Phase B. I think that is significant. There were people like Karl Jaffray, Michael Goldrick, John Sewell, and David Crombie who all were aware of that agenda and didn't make it too public, but certainly that agenda was there.

As Barbara mentioned, I am now involved with Ataratiri and am continually comparing it to St. Lawrence. It is really very interesting how the evolution of the Neighbourhood Advisory Committee has happened. There is no question that this interplay between the City and various people representing, to some degree the future residents of these areas, has become far more sophisticated. The relationship between the two is certainly much more mature than it was with St. Lawrence. Notwithstanding Michael Dennis' great pressure, we today see a much more different and more positive relationship where the Neighbourhood Advisory Committee is being used very extensively in a lot of interesting ways. That bodes well for the future. The one thing we do not have is a Michael Dennis pushing us, but I think there is enough momentum between the staff and the Neighbourhood Advisory Committee to keep the whole thing going, and it will also be as successful as St. Lawrence.

Barbara Lee:

Frank Mills was a member of the St. Lawrence Working Committee in the early seventies. He also worked for the City Housing Department as their St. Lawrence Development Coordinator for 1977 and 1978. It was at that point that he moved to Harbourfront and has been involved in the development of Harbourfront since that time, first as the Director of Planning and Development and now as its President.

Frank Mills, Speaker:

Richard Peddie did a very good job of summarizing the history of what has happened within St. Lawrence in a way which wasn't self-serving at all. It was a good, relatively objective summary, for someone who has been involved in it for so many years. It is hard to be critical of not only the way he presented it, but also in terms of the issues he raised.

I would like to make a few observations with hindsight upon the evolution of St. Lawrence. Chris picked up that, these days, there is greater sophistication in the process of community involvement in the neighbourhood in the development of Ataratiri. It certainly was an important step in the development process in the St. Lawrence project. I think all of us were certainly involved in that Working Committee process at the time. It was certainly important to the evolution of the Co-operative Housing movement. It was a good testing ground to ensure that you had the involvement and the backing of a whole range of interest groups. It was also a way of ensuring that you vetted a lot of things that in the end were the basis of a plan. Rick mentioned that there had been surprisingly few changes in the plan over so many years. I think that is a testament to the fact that there such a good vetting of all of the competing interests in the development of the plan in the first place, and so many of the elements had been well thought out in terms of the different constituents and interest groups. The process withstood the test of time in the final evolution of the project.

The other part which is important, probably one of the most significant things in my view, was the social evolution of the community concept. It started with a broad involvement of different interest groups and the cornerstone of the evolving co-operative housing groups who would form the foundation of the initial community. In my view that was probably the most important step in creating a successful neighbourhood within St. Lawrence. In physical terms, the rest followed -- debates, discussions, arguments and fine tuning of physical plans. Once the basic structure was there, the simple, comprehensible physical plan, with its clear principles, the rest of it fell in place. A dynamic community evolved to ensure that we have a successful neighbourhood. In my view it was important that there was not only the initial co-op community but that there was the balance of the mix of housing. It was important to get a mixed use community and, as Rick pointed out, there was probably much less of a mix of non-residential uses with the housing; perhaps there could have been more -- it might have added to the character of the area. However, first and foremost it has been successful as a residential community.

Barbara Lee:

Noreen Dunphy's commitment to co-op housing also goes back to the early seventies. When I first met Noreen, she was working for the South Cabbagetown Community Improvement Association. She got one of the very first startup grants that CMHC ever made for that project. Although that project didn't go ahead, shortly thereafter she joined the St. Lawrence Working Committee and later became a development coordinator for Woodsworth Co-op, one of the first co-ops in St. Lawrence. Noreen was founding member of the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto and she's also a past board member of the Metro Toronto Housing Authority. I think that was a first for getting a third sector representative on that board. She spent four years as the coordinator and lobbyist for the Ontario Co-operative Housing Association and she is currently a consultant to the Crombie Royal Commission on the future of Toronto's Waterfront.

Noreen, what do you have to say about the building of St. Lawrence?

Noreen Dunphy:

I will touch on four elements of what I feel made St. Lawrence successful and that characterized the involvement of the housing co-operatives. I then want to finish briefly on two issues, (I don't know if you would call them controversies), that arose during the implementation stage.

One of the first elements of St. Lawrence which helped make it successful was the emphasis the City placed participation in the planning process which extended all the way through the implementation stages. We had a working committee established in January 1975, just months after the initial announcement about the land banking effort. The Working Committee had a wide group of representatives with two of them specifically to represent the co-operative housing sector. A two fold result was produced by this structure. On the one hand, we were representing future co-op developers in St. Lawrence and trying to bring those concerns to bear. On the other hand, as co-op sector representatives, we lived in co-ops ourselves, and we came from the Co-operative Housing Federation which represented a significant number of co-ops that existed at the time. We saw our role as to trying to represent the future users, maybe in a way that was easier for us to do than perhaps for some of the planners or the architects involved at that stage in the process.

If I could characterize how we saw our goal during the early working committee stage, it was to try to always bring us back to what kind of a neighbourhood do we want to create for ordinary people, in the extraordinary mix and range of types of people, incomes and forms of tenure. The process was such a wonderful synthesis and exchange of ideas that I sometimes find it hard to recall who exactly had what idea that we can now point out as a good one or a bad one in St. Lawrence. I do not mean to suggest that the planners could not have done it without us, because it would be equally absurd to say that we could have done it without them. There was a learning process on both sides, with an intensity of passion as Frank Lewinberg said yesterday in the co-operative approach that helped to pay off further down the road when we were busy developing our specific parcels.

There were concepts that were in the original site plan that changed during the working committee process and there were aspects of what had been contemplated in the individual block studies that we also threw out in doing our own designs. While there was overall adherence to the design guidelines and the concepts and the site plan, there were some changes. The old slide of the draft site plan that was shown earlier this morning had point block towers. It was one of the first things we threw out, partly in order to (in the case of the Woodsworth co-op) try to do a bit of innovation with a single loaded corridor building with wider corridors, making them part of public space.

The other thing that happened when we designed and developed our individual buildings, was to remind ourselves that the co-op projects themselves were going to be animated by the people who lived in them, and therefore that had to influence every aspect of their design. In turn, those people and other neighbours who would follow in the subsequent phases were going to animate the overall plan for St. Lawrence and make the neighbourhood work.

If I had to characterize what that participation process meant for us, it meant that we always tried to put ourselves in the shoes of the people who live in the actual units. Indeed, although I remained in my own co-op, many of my co-workers who worked in the development of St. Lawrence did subsequently move into it and still live there to this day. This point answers David Hulchanski's question about other neighbourhoods. Could you believe that the planners and developers of any of those neighbourhoods would live in them? I think that is part of what made St. Lawrence a success; many people involved could answer "yes" to that question.

Thirdly, although it has been mentioned by others, I want to underline the idea that housing co-ops bring the concepts of participation, of democracy, of co-operation to the neighbourhood even before the buildings are completed. We had meetings of future residents on the details of their own building while it was under construction, and how it was going to be run and managed. Some of those residents were able to feed ideas into the larger committees that the City had established about the social services, other neighbourhood facilities, retail facilities (what kind of stores do we need to make this neighbourhood work?) a library (is it just going to be just any sort of a library?) and so on. They were the early nucleus of the neighbourhood association of St. Lawrence.

I wonder if things would have been the same if the phasing had been different and if the Co-ops came at the end rather than at the beginning? I feel they made a positive contribution by assuming from the outset that there would have to be some kind of neighbourhood association to express the residents' and neighbours' views beyond their own building's concerns.

Finally, as we look at some of the new neighbourhoods being contemplated today, another element that contributed to our success was that we never doubted that there would be programs that would support the affordable housing component. I worry about whether we can count on it for the future. We may have had our arguments with the chief funder at the time, CMHC, as to the design of the program or specific details, but never in our wildest nightmares did we imagine that by the time the site planning process was complete that we would not have a program to build the units. It simply didn't enter our heads. I'm not sure that we can say the same today with the same degree of certainty, whether we're talking about Ataratiri, or Downsview, or Vaughan, or whether we're talking about some of the private sector led initiatives like McGuinness, Goodyear and so on.

That is something worth reminding ourselves about -- all the planning in the world, and concern about mix and affordability doesn't mean anything unless the finances are there, and the political will is there and the programs are there.

I want to briefly mention two implementation issues. First was the question of whether building the community facilities and neighbourhood infrastructure was too slow. As early as 1981, St. Lawrence residents were making deputations and complaining about the fact that the schools were overcrowded, "When were we going to have the next school built?" and "Why didn't we have the library in operation yet?" and "Why are there no plans for a community centre?".

My own view of this situation, having been involved from the beginning, is that I have never been part of a process led by the City that had more emphasis put on social services, community facilities and infrastructure at the planning stage. I do not think that the slow implementation of community services in St. Lawrence was primarily a failure in planning or in emphasis. I do think, however, that it was a failure of the decision makers who held the purse strings. It was a question of whether the second school, the library, the community centre and so on, got on board quickly enough, because the plans contemplated almost all of what finally happened, even if the actual sites moved around. I think the problem in St. Lawrence is whether the so called soft side of the services and infrastructure is deemed to be as important by those who control the purse strings as the hard side of getting the buildings built. We have certainly seen the same problem at Harbourfront, I hope we won't see it in Ataratiri, and we may or may not see it in some of the other neighbourhoods.

We had quite a lot of resident input on community services through both the working committee and the coordinating committee and some of the sub-committees set up by the future residents. When I was looking back at some files, I was chuckling to note that while our buildings were barely passing foundation stage and piles were disappearing in the lakebed, rotting wharves were being dug up and wondering if we were going to solve the methane problem, we spent just as much time in our meetings, worrying about the selection of the school principal, the specific design of the park, and whether we were going to have a shoe repair shop and a beauty salon and, whether we were going to have the right kind of restaurant (where you could just get toast and tea and not just sit down for a fancy meal). We were involved in plans for the health clinic and I understand this proposal is being repeated in Ataratiri and, I hope, in the other neighbourhoods.

A question to leave with you -- where other neighbourhoods are not led by the public sector, for instance the Goodyear and McGuinness sites, will we be able to see the same quality of input and energy which resulted in St. Lawrence?

I did not mean to end on a controversial note, it is just the way that this worked out. When we got to Phase B in St. Lawrence, there was a shift in both the site plan and the way the densities were allocated in the building parcels as between Phase A and Phase B. There was a change between what the plan originally contemplated for Phase B and what was built as a result of the unsuccessful attempt by the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto and the Labour Council Development Foundation to persuade the City to not make those changes. We boycotted Phase B, and would not respond to any of the proposal calls for co-op development there.

An historical note on what some of those concerns were on our part.. We felt the densities were being shifted around in Phase B to preserve the higher quality sites, at lower density, for home ownership townhousing. Our prediction was that we couldn't keep those houses affordable.

Apart from that issue we felt that we weren't getting as many of the kind of stacked townhouses we were able to achieve in Phase A because they were social housing. We wanted to maintain some faithfulness to grade related family units and townhouses but at a higher density, per building lot, than was accomplished when serving the needs of homeownership. Those specific rowhousing parcels had a lower density, which meant that the densities in the apartment blocks were stacked up. I was happy to hear the comment earlier, by Michel Labbe that it does make a difference on the ground to see an eight story building and a twelve story building. It does make a difference if the mass is heavier and it looms more noticeably.

I do not feel that Phase B is wholly unsuccessful and I would not want to leave that impression. But there was a bit of shift on that continuum. The plan seemed to suggest that we could use the social housing sites to maximize the apartment form, minimize the grade related family units and provide the environmental and sound buffer to make a pleasant and successful investment opportunity for the homeowners in the middle. That is actually the reason why the Co-operative Housing Federation and the Labour Council at the time boycotted Phase B.

5.3 GENERAL DISCUSSION: BUILDING ST. LAWRENCE

Rod McLeod:

Richard was going to mention something about the Berkeley St. co-op, which was quite a controversial item in our neighbourhood. He passed it by and I would like to hear what he has to say on it.

Richard Peddie:

I deliberately passed it by because I do not understand what the controversy is around the Berkeley St. Co-op. I wanted to make the point that when a neighbourhood matures, resistance comes to change.

For those of you don't know it, the Berkeley St. co-op is sited on the piece of land which was originally designated for the Phase B school. Because all the density had been used up in Phase B of the development, it required a rezoning to develop the ninety-nine units on Berkeley St. which the co-op wishes to build. It is hard to get to the bottom of it, but there seems to some resistance to the notion that this will be an intensive low income building. It's an experiment, in some ways, with bringing homeless people into St. Lawrence, which really hadn't been done before. I think there is a lot more smoke than fire there. I wanted to use it for a very specific, generalized point. I don't want to get into the controversy with people around here who were involved in that development and who know more about it than I do.

Dave Gordon:

Frank, perhaps you can compare your experiences in St. Lawrence and Harbourfront and project forward some suggestions for people in the five or six other neighbourhoods that are under development right now and who are sitting in this room right now. Any advice?

Frank Mills:

If there is a lesson we learned out of St. Lawrence and Harbourfront, it seems to me we are a little too far away from planning new communities around families. We must also have large numbers of non-family units in those communities. If you plan a neighbourhood with the community facilities infrastructure, and if you think of a school as a community resource, a playground that provides open space and recreation, and if you put the school in the middle and do the housing around it, you probably accidentally can end up with a neighbourhood that works for a lot of other reasons. Places will be within walking distances of each other, places will be friendly to seniors and the disabled as well as for the children. I remain concerned that we have lost a little bit of the sense of the role the school can play in the broader community. I think we would end up with better plans if we looked at that.

Question From The Floor:

I have some questions for Richard Peddie about the process of land assembly for St. Lawrence. Since you said that land was acquired at about market price, I presume that the purpose of expropriation was not to get the land at a lower price but to expedite the process of assembling the land. The second is a legal question. Does the legislation on regulations of the City of Toronto allow the expropriation of land at substantially less than the market price, and if so, could you briefly explain what the legislation is? The third question is were there any specific challenges by the private owners whose land was expropriated regarding the price?

Richard Peddie:

The answers are yes, no and yes. The first question: Yes, we assembled through expropriation as a last resort to make the development work.

Question:

At market?

Richard Peddie:

No. The second answer is that the Expropriations Act does not allow you to expropriate land at below market price. The problem with expropriation is we end up in court for a long period of time, you pay more because you are paying business loss and the lawyers make a lot of money. I think I did say that the expropriation settlements for St. Lawrence took twelve years. I hope the expropriation settlements for Ataratiri don't take that long. But believe me, the expropriations for Ataratiri are not cut rate expropriations. I think that answers the third question also.

Barbara Lee:

Do any of my respondents or panellists have a last word they want to make?

Chris Smith:

We have been thrown into this whole issue of homeownership. Noreen raised it and the current Minister of Housing is very interested in this issue. Here are a couple of observations which will probably get me into trouble.

One was an observation about quality. We did develop in Phase B, unlike the Federation and Labour Council. One of the amazing things was the quality of the housing that was being built by the non-profit sector and the private sector. As an example, we were using six inch studs, six inches of insulation and it was top quality studding. The private housing was built with four inch studs of very inferior quality and with four inches of insulation that went right through the whole building. The quality wasn't there.

The other thing that Richard alluded to was that they were trying to make these units affordable. Actually, a certain amount of internal flipping happened. That is one of the problems when you are in the private sector. Clearly, we are all trying to create communities that have a mix, but it is almost impossible to make the housing affordable beyond what the market controls. The Province has set a very difficult agenda for itself by trying to create an affordable housing ownership option. As we know from past programs, this has been a problem and it certainly didn't work in St. Lawrence. There are better ways that you get better quality if you are dealing with the sixty percent of our society that cannot really afford homeownership. There are much better solutions. Most of that sixty percent are looking for family housing. Most of them are looking for co-op family housing. That is what people want and that's where the great need is.

One of the things that is interesting is that both the federal and provincial governments have changed over the years. When we developed St. Lawrence we were looking at twenty five percent RGI. Over the years they've come to allow more rent geared to income and the Berkeley St. co-op is a case in point. They're allowing a hundred percent rent geared to income. Suddenly now, they are switching and looking at the homeownership market. It is just not a priority that the government can afford, and I think is going to be extremely difficult for them. I think that there is a real need to continue looking at this large number of families that cannot afford those kind of options and the kind of family housing that they need. I hope that the government recognizes this need eventually.

Barbara Lee:

Thank you Chris. Rick would like to have the last word.

Rick Peddie:

The notion that we can build affordable homeownership is extremely important in the planning of Ataratiri. We had to look at the numbers as part of financial planning for Ataratiri. Affordability is defined as a \$150,000 house for a household earning \$50,000 or less, for the 60th percentile. If you work backwards, given the land acquisition costs and everything else, you find that a family in that range, buying a house at that price, would have to have a down payment of about \$36,000 to return \$40,000 to the land, which is way below acquisition cost. So the conclusion you very rapidly come to is that you cannot do affordable housing without heavy subsidies. In fact, our calculations at this point suggest that the subsidies to homeownership will be much greater than the subsidies to private non-profit, Cityhome or Co-operatives. We are trying to find a way around this, but believe me, we do not have an answer yet. The notion that cheap homeownership is better than co-op or private non-profit living must be challenged.



6. LIVING IN ST. LAWRENCE

6. LIVING IN ST. LAWRENCE

Jack Layton, Moderator:

Our main speaker this afternoon is Joe Springer. Joe is a professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson, where he teaches planning policy and evaluation. He had extensive work experience in the private and public sector in the United States, Canada and the West Indies before he got involved in teaching. Joe has taken a particular interest over the years in housing and is currently on the Board of the Ontario Housing Corporation.

Joe Springer, Speaker:

I get the distinct impression from being here for the last day and a half that I know what Clyde Wells feels like. I sat through a day and a half long orgy of self congratulation on St. Lawrence. As far as I'm concerned, St. Lawrence represents broken promises and failed opportunities. It was served up with all the smugness of a maitre d' in a fancy restaurant. That sets my context.

Let me try to explain why that is my perspective on St. Lawrence. I think St. Lawrence was a unique opportunity, which has been alluded to by a number of the speakers. I want to spend a little bit of time letting people understand just how special that St. Lawrence time was and why I think it's difficult to replicate. Then I want to look at what we possibly have learned from St. Lawrence. The conference title is "Learning from St. Lawrence". David Hulchanski started off yesterday by saying, "Why are we here?" I want to look at what we learned from St. Lawrence.

6.1 PAPER: LIVING IN ST. LAWRENCE

by Joe Springer, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, Ryerson

Introduction

In 1969 the Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development wrote the requiem for urban renewal programs in Canada. One of its major recommendations was that Canada should re-evaluate existing mechanisms for the provision of shelter assistance to lower income populations in general, and to public housing programs in particular. The 1970 annual report of C.M.H.C. wrote:

"In a sociological sense, the concept of public housing cannot lay claim to unqualified success in Canada. While recognizing the importance of physical improvements in the housing stock for low-income families, the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development questioned the social integrity of public housing projects. Anticipated gains in terms of individual and community spirit had not materialized. In contrast to volume production of good physical housing, an environment had not generally emerged from such projects of sufficient character and of a quality to nourish the growth of personal incentives and dignity in living styles." (CMHC, 1970, Annual Report of Operations)

These social and economic concerns pushed governments to search for new directions in the provision of housing assistance. Although, as the 1970 Annual Report shows, there was "no certainty of the direction the programs might take, objectives were broadly framed with a concept of innovation"....

Innovation was considered in terms of:

- (a) new tenures, sponsors, integration of lower and middle-income groups, and mixes commercial and residential uses;
- (b) economic land uses, building methods, and advantageous financial arrangements; and
- (c) the development of new attitudes within the building industry, financial institutions, provincial and municipal governments, and the public towards low-cost housing. (CMHC 1970)

The programs were directed to major urban and metropolitan areas,

"so that the effectiveness of the projects could be visibly contrasted with the difficult market situation" (CMHC 1970)

Despite the uncertainty about new directions, however, the search for innovation seemed to be informed strongly by an unequivocal rejection of all aspects of the former public housing programs except the need to provide assistance to low and moderate sectors of the population.

The concept of the St. Lawrence Community was born in this environment of challenge, experimentation and innovation. The challenge was to create a large scale inner city redevelopment, using innovative, even experimental concepts to achieve the objectives. The opportunity was provided by a rare coalescence of philosophy, resources, and actors. This paper reviews some of the results of the St. Lawrence experiment to understand what we have learned.

Organization of the Study

The first section examines, briefly, the housing policy environment around 1972-74 and discusses the specific goal of St. Lawrence in this context. Section 2 examines the information available on the nonphysical aspects of St. Lawrence by reviewing the statistical information available. Section 3 raises questions about the performance of St. Lawrence given the data, while Section 4 argues for a comprehensive evaluation exercise based on clearly defined objectives.

6.1.1 The Policy Environment Circa 1973

The Housing Policy Environment (1965 - 1975) has been documented extensively. (Rose 1983; Fallis 1980; Amborski 1980; Ontario Economic Council 1976; Carver 1975; Audain et al, 1973; Pine 1973; Dennis and Fish 1972; Smith 1971; Lithwick 1970). This review selects some of the colourful highlights (political, economic, fiscal) of these authors in an attempt to support the argument that the 1972-74 period provided an extremely rare window of opportunity that favoured the creation of St. Lawrence. There is no attempt at comprehensiveness.

Political

"In October 1947, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, then Minister of External Affairs had declared at a luncheon address in Montreal "No government of which I am a part will ever pass legislation for subsidized housing" (Carver 1975-84)

By 1948 the construction of Regent Park was in progress and in 1956 the National Housing Act was amended to include provisions for an urban renewal program. Between 1961 and 1970, 37,500 units of subsidized low rental housing at a cost to CMHC of some 26 million dollars had been created. However, severe criticism by the Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development moved housing policy in a different direction. The report of the "Task Force" can be considered part of the political backdrop of this period because it marked the end of the formal political career of Paul Hellyer, a high profile Liberal leadership hopeful. The disappearance of John Turner a few years later allowed Pierre Trudeau to dominate the political scene for the next decade with very little internal competition from within the Liberal Party. This political freedom as well as pressure from minority government status led Trudeau to experiment with his vision of a "just society" dedicated to spreading the benefits of affluence. It is important to note that this concern was not specific to housing. This period witnessed increased concern with the extent and persistence of regional economic disparities, as evidenced in the Economic Council of Canada study *Living Together* published in 1973.

The importance of issues of equity and social justice was evident also at the provincial and municipal levels. In Ontario the election of a minority government in 1974 provided the opportunity for the N.D.P. to influence policy and move a variety of social concerns on to the public agenda. Similarly the City of Toronto elected in 1972 what was known as the "reform council" led by Mayor Crombie.

The Economy

If there was a discernable economic philosophy for the Trudeau government of the early 1970's it may be described as Keynesian. Government expenditures increased at extremely high rates year over year, peaking at a 25% + level in 1973-74. The Canadian economy was strong, provincial growth rates were high and incomes, fed by significant gains at the collective bargaining table and increases in government expenditures, were growing at rates faster than already significant inflation.

Not only were the economic and demographic conditions in a state of flux, the participants in the process were shifting positions relative to each other. The broad based rejection of public housing by politicians and local communities produced a realignment of the actors concerned with the issues of affordable housing. Carver (1975) points out that:

Private developers, the advocates of public housing and CMHC found themselves strangely linked together as a joint establishment to be looked on with suspicion and mistrust. And in search of new directions, the protestors - the students the activists, and the spokesmen for the poor - sought refuge in what came to be called "the third sector": the co-operatives, the non-profit programs, and the rehabilitation of old houses near the centres of cities. This was a way of avoiding the stigma of both the bourgeois suburbs, and the ghettos of public housing: (Carver, 1975, 90)

In summary, the early 1970's witnessed the unique circumstance of the coexistence of resources (financial, human and physical) political will at all levels of government; of a sense of urgency fed by the rhetoric of crisis, and finally, the willingness to explore new directions in an effort to provide better solutions. In the words of Dennis and Fish (1972).

The crucial political task is the definition of the goals of a national housing policy, the monitoring of the economic and social systems and evaluation of programs to ensure that those are met. As an initial statement of housing goals, they proposed:

1. Providing equal access to decent housing for all Canadians
2. Controlling housing price inflation
3. Improving the environmental quality of all housing
4. Conserving and upgrading the existing stock
5. Maximizing the dignity and freedom of choice of the individual user; and
6. Creating a decision-making process that is both open to user input and whose focus of authority is as close to the user as possible. (Dennis and Fish 1972, 27)

Metro Toronto Area 1973

To narrow the focus from the broader policy environment it is useful to review, briefly, a collage of information on the housing scene in Toronto focusing on demand/supply elements.

The Supply Side

Five major contributors to increased cost in the 1970's were residential building material cost; residential labour cost; mortgage interest rates; land costs, and the land conversion process. Data obtained from Statistics Canada's Indexes of Construction Cost 1971-1979 show that residential building material costs increased, on average, between 4 and 14 % peaking at 14.3% in 1974. Mortgage rates fluctuated between 9 and 10 % for the period and changes in the C.P.I. in 1973-74 stood at 10.9 % and 1974-75 10.8 %. Land as a percentage of housing costs peaked in 1977- at 47.98 % up from an average of 35 % for the period 1970-74. Finally, the length and complexity of the land conversion process was blamed by several authors (Watson, 1979, Markusen, 1978, Scheffman, 1977, and Derkowski, 1973) for the lack of responsiveness of the land supply to changes in demand for land.

The Demand Side

On the demand side demographic change, economic conditions and government policy were major factors. The major contributors to demographic change in Metro were the increases in household formation caused by the baby boom, the changes in lifestyle and patterns of migration. In Metro the population 20-44 increased from 735,763 (37.8%) in 1971 to 774,127 (38.3%) by 1975. By comparison the age group 0-4 declined as a proportion from 6.9% in 1972 to 6.1% in 1975, and the proportion of those aged 5-14 also declined from 18.5% in 1971 to 1.64% in 1975. Beaujot, (1978) showed that total household formation in Canada increased 32 % 1961-1971 and he projected a growth rate of 34 % 1971-1980.

Migration

Although in Ontario as a whole 1974 was period of net loss in interprovincial migration, Metro Toronto continued to attract a substantial share of the smaller migrant totals.

Incomes

For the entire period 1970-1976 incomes grew at rates in excess of the C.P.I.. In 1972, and 1973 for example, income growth exceeded the C.P.I. by 5% annually.

Housing Starts

Housing starts in Metro increased in the 1972 - 73 period despite the perception of a crisis. In the ownership sector 18,122 units were added in 1972 and 17,823 in 1973. In the rental sector 19,874 units were added in 1973 and 16,847 in 1974. This supported vacancy rates in 1971 of over 3% and 1.3 to 1.8% between 1973 and 1975. In this period these conditions were widely considered to be indicative of a housing market so mired in crisis that substantial government intervention at all levels was demanded.

It is in this overall context that St. Lawrence must be examined and the objectives and achievements judged.

Goals of St. Lawrence

There were four basic goals defined in the City of Toronto Planning report St. Lawrence, 1974:

- a) To create more housing in Toronto for all income groups and in particular for those low and moderate incomes.
- b) To provide housing in the central city.
- c) To ensure that redevelopment occurs in accordance with sound planning goals rather than ad hoc market forces.
- d) To create a neighbourhood which will benefit from the historic buildings which remain in and around the area and which will, in turn, revitalize what was once the Town of York.

In addition to the basic goal, the implementing philosophy included commitments to:

- development of a positive policy to industry
- ensuring that St. Lawrence would set the standard for redevelopment by encouraging a broad mix of people and uses.
- contain a fairly large proportion of commercial facilities.
- provide housing for a mixture of income levels, social classes, age groups and family and non-family households.

Conceptual Basis for the Choice of Direction

St. Lawrence, in 1975 represented the brave new look. An urban experiment that introduced the concepts of "mix". Integration of incomes, ages, uses, designs supported by the public and private sectors, and controlled by local communities. As in all cases where an innovative approach was used, the supporting literature offered no clear directions. For example, Gans (1968) claimed that relative homogeneity of income and age were prerequisites for integration. He warned that propinquity was not sufficient, and that heterogeneity, as an end in itself, was of little value and could easily be the result of several homogenous neighbourhoods (Gans 1968) Schorr (1963) argued that three choices were open to public providers of housing:

- A real estate operation for the respectable poor - the purely poor,
- A rehabilitative program for the seriously dependent and troubled poor,
- A greatly enlarged and altered program with a variety of kinds of housing opportunities.

However, Schorr insisted that the objectives of the program should be defined with precision and policies altered if the programs were to serve these families.

Goldblatt (1962) offers seven guiding principles to aid the integration of public-housing into a community. These recommendations covered topics like design, number of children, street patterns, provision of social services, non-isolation of location, community input and acceptance of the concept of public housing. Finally Boeschstein (1971) documented the concerns about income integration raised by the Farm Urban Renewal Project in Brookline Massachusetts. He concluded that the advantages, theoretically:

- allow a family to move up or down the socio-economics ladder without shifting neighbourhoods.
- the juxtaposition of social classes allow the opportunity for insight into how the rest of society is living.
- Combining low income and high income may allow low income to be partly subsidized by high income.
- the project provides accommodation for those that work in the community. (Boeschstein, 1971)

The 1975 City of Toronto Social Services Report distilled the information available into a set of recommendations about design, community control and participation, income integration and social service provision. In addition the report laid out clear warnings about potential problems, associated with the implementation of the broad concept of integration because of the clearly experimental nature of the St. Lawrence approaches.

6.1.2 What Do We Know About St. Lawrence?

What we "know" about anything may be dependent upon:

- the questions we asked, and how we framed them.
- the type of information we considered acceptable as a response.
- the way in which that information was acquired and analyzed.
- the ideological even personal stake we have in the matter.

Much of this is defined or clarified, in the social sciences by reference to the ruling paradigm for that discipline, at that time. There is no clear paradigmatic approach to examination of something like St. Lawrence. Thus, what we know increasingly becomes what we want to know. However, when an activity falls, as does St. Lawrence, within the public domain, there is an expectation that examinations will be framed in terms of some standard evaluative criteria of efficiency, effectiveness, equity and adequacy. However, the determination of what constitutes appropriate indicators and measures of these criteria is difficult.

In the specific case of St. Lawrence, should the basis for evaluation be the four specific goals outlined in "St. Lawrence", (1974), or should more attention be paid to the broader guiding principles defined? This concern was brought sharply into focus by a section of Carver's biography that discussed Regent Park as well as a conversation with a co-op board member. When asked how one may set about developing an appropriate evaluative framework for St. Lawrence, one suggestion was that maybe Regent Park might be the basis for contrast.

Regent Park seems to epitomize all that is perceived to be wrong with the "Public Housing" alternative. A review of the early history and function of Regent Park provided one method of identifying and specifying the problems that St. Lawrence intended to avoid.

Drawing on the work of Carver (1975) Rose (1958) for Regent Park, and Hulchanski, (1984) Amborski, (1980) and various reports (#1 -18) produced by the City 1973-1987, for St. Lawrence, the review showed that substantial similarities existed in terms of definition of need, size, location, ideological approaches to community design and participation, local political support and innovativeness. The primary differences existed in areas of implementing approaches, targeting of subsidy, and level of government support and building densities.

Regent Park

In terms of need, Carver points out that: "by the end of 1947 there were in Toronto alone nearly 5,000 families in emergency shelter provided by the City... [This together with the obsolete housing...] represent a backlog which cannot now be cleared by the supply which will come in from the private housing market... ultimately the solution to this central problem involves the forming of a philosophy concerning the rights and equities within our society." (Carver 1975, 81)

Of the project design Carver writes:

The original project of three-storey walkups and row housing was built on 44 acres and housed 1289 families or about 5,000 people... There was at the time, no provision in the National Housing Act for subsidies for low rental housing and no framework of government organization for such an undertaking. It was in all respects a precedent-setting accomplishment that came, not out of the political strategy of senior governments but out of a citizen movement.

... The pioneering history of the Regent Park project was also important to me because it confirmed my belief that it is right for communities to be involved in the housing affairs of their own people: (Carver 1975-82) Emphasis mine.

Carver documents further the extent of citizen involvement and organization that created Regent Park and asserts that the decisive moment in this affair was the municipal election of January 1947. (Carver 1975-83)

What is clear, is that some of the best minds, based in the academic and voluntary sectors, and committed to community based social housing, fought long and hard to move a reluctant government in this direction.

St. Lawrence

St. Lawrence and False Creek are the natural outcome of lessons learned from the urban renewal and public housing projects of the 1950's and 1960's.... When completed St. Lawrence will provide 3,500 units of housing on a 44 acre site, adjacent to downtown" (Hulchanski 1984, 1)

In addition to the similarities in location, and physical dimensions, St. Lawrence was the result of a shift in local municipal government that produced a "reform caucus", and represented the recognition of the need for an effective new means of providing affordable housing in urban areas. As well, it could provide: "excellent case study material for social scientists and design professional on a variety of important questions relating to site planning, housing and neighbourhood design, social mix, residential densities assisted housing financing and the financing, implementation and impacts of larger scale municipal redevelopment projects" (Hulchanski, 1984 1)

The early history of Regent Park and St. Lawrence revealed that they were the product of the same kind of struggle to obtain government assistance for the provision of an increased supply of housing that was affordable, strategically located, sensitively designed for family use and controlled by the resident community. Furthermore, the solutions reflected the input of some of the most respected scholars and community leaders of both periods.

The failures of the Regent Park type of urban renewal were sociological, "anticipated gains in community spirit sufficient to nourish the growth of personal incentives and dignity in living styles had not emerged." In contrast, volume production of sound housing had occurred. If the St. Lawrence experiment could teach anything it would be how these 'failures' could be corrected. In addition to providing increased numbers of units, St. Lawrence would have to do two things.

- report carefully on how new directions were implemented i.e. Monitor
- explain the difference that these innovations made, i.e. Evaluate

To be useful, the focus would have to be on both the social and physical design aspects. However, the major criticisms had been of social failings, and closer scrutiny would be given to how social aspects were improved.

The Data

The reporting of the data collected on St. Lawrence is overwhelming positive. The 1980 and 1982 surveys of resident characteristics focused on seven major areas:

- previous residence
- personal characteristics
- employment
- income distribution
- use of services
- reasons for moving to St. Lawrence
- opinions of St. Lawrence

Analyses showed that most of St. Lawrence residents were drawn from the city (60%) and Metro (85%). Previous renters formed 80-83% of tenants, 15% of households were single female headed, and one person households comprised 43%. Residents were young (52% less than 29 years of age) and educated, 39% had a degree and 30% held jobs that required post secondary education. The 1980 and 1982 reports showed median incomes below the city median.

On each of the areas of investigation, St. Lawrence was identified anywhere from excellent to adequate. The least positive response came in the area of facilities which could be explained by the lack of facilities during early stages of the project.

In terms of physical design the research was much more detailed. Densities, parking, amenity spaces, noise and other pollution, facility design and composition, building quality and access were studied. Here also St. Lawrence received positive evaluations.

Tennyson (1987) summarized the attempts at evaluation in St. Lawrence. She concluded that: What emerged from the study of St. Lawrence was the absolute necessity for a framework to focus and direct the evaluation efforts undertaken in planning, and ensure the appropriate use of evaluation results.... a great deal of data was collected, that could readily have been used for evaluation purposes. However, no cohesive approach to evaluation was ever adopted in the planning of St. Lawrence. (Tennyson 1987, 27)

Tennyson's position is indicative of the failure of the existing examinations of St. Lawrence to respond to questions raised, and opportunities identified, in the social service report of 1975, Hulchanski, 1984, Amborski, 1980, the CMHC Report 1983, and even the indirect issues raised by the 1989 Task Force on Housing and Urban Development. These questions focused on the assessment of impacts (in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, adequacy, appropriateness, equity etc.) of:

- the structures used to deliver social services to residents
- the methods used to implement citizen participation and resident control of the development
- integration of incomes, ages, uses, and design
- integration of the development into the broader community

The failure to convince those that administer St. Lawrence, of the importance of providing answers to these questions is difficult to understand.

The 1983 CMHC report said: Income mixing entails a cost in terms of low income households served by the programs: without this requirement 200 per cent more income tested units could be provided for the same overall subsidy amount." CMHC, 1983, 5.

Major negative conclusions of the 1983 report were:

- The Section 56.1 programs are ineffectively targeted to those most in need.
- Section 56.1 programs are not a cost effective way of producing rent geared to income units.
- Section 56.1 programs have only a marginal impact on the outstanding need for assistance. These conclusions were considered appropriate even though St. Lawrence pre dates 56.1.

Equally disturbing were the implications of the data collected and the studies published on St. Lawrence.

6.1.3 Some Implications

The last survey of residents in St. Lawrence was done in 1982. This together with the 1980 study formed the only comprehensive look at the resident population of St. Lawrence. In the two years studied, up to 75% of the residents were considered to earn low to moderate incomes. However, the educational achievement of the population was substantially higher than the city median, and the age groups younger. These characteristics may be combined with resident turnover rates to estimate resident profiles in St. Lawrence at present.

St. Lawrence turnover rates are 5% for R.G.I. units and about 15% for "market" units. The stability of the resident population is confirmed by a social audit of the Woodsworth Cooperative which reported in 1989 that 62% of members had lived there seven or more years. If it can be assumed that, given the educational background and age structure of the residents, incomes would increase at or above the median rate in the general population then the slow rate of turnover would produce a situation where a much higher proportion of incomes in St. Lawrence are now at or above the city median.

Three pieces of evidence, the first anecdotal, the others more substantial, provide support for this thesis. First, one of the respondents to the 1980 survey wrote, in part: I was just finished school, was broke (in debt) and making an 'all right' average income. Within the last year my income has been raised substantially. (Resident Survey. Phase A 1980, 8)

More dependable is the income distributions reported for the Woodsworth Co-op in 1989. The survey of individual incomes showed a distribution of:

\$	0 - 10,000	19%
\$	10 - 19,999	12%
\$	20 - 29,999	27%
\$	30 - 39,999	19%
\$	40 +	17%

Thus 36% of individual incomes in Woodsworth are above \$30,000. The median individual income is approximately \$27,000 and the median household income \$40,000 (Using 1.5 workers per household as an estimate). The third piece of support comes from a recently completed survey of central city residents done in 1989. Preliminary results show median household incomes in the \$40,000 range and median individual incomes in the \$27,750 range. It seems reasonable to suggest that the residents of Woodsworth reflect an income pattern typical of the central area of Toronto, and to extrapolate this pattern to the rest of St. Lawrence. This suggests that only 50% or less of St. Lawrence residents now are below the city median.

The results of this exercise raise questions about horizontal and vertical equity and the targeting of subsidy, especially for those individuals with incomes substantially above the median. In the Woodsworth Co-op for example 36% of individuals earn \$30,000+. In St. Lawrence, generally 31% of residents are in conjugal relationships (married or common law) thus approximately 12% of households make over \$60,000 in gross incomes and several over \$80,000. Given that rental rates in St. Lawrence Cityhome units are \$600 - 1 bedroom; \$725 - 2 bedroom and \$850 - 3 bedroom, the rent to income ratio for the two upper quartiles varies between 15% and 11%. These rates are lower than those faced by deep subsidy R.G.I. tenants who must pay 25% of incomes in rent. The median rent to income in the central area study is in the 18-20% range.

The recognition that this type of situation may be inappropriate is evidenced by the introduction of an 'income cap' for residents of Cityhome units. Specifically, new residents may not occupy a unit that allows a rent to income ratio of less than 20%. It is noteworthy that in Woodsworth, where rents have historically been lower than in Cityhome units, 85% of those responding to the Social Audit thought rents were "just right" and the 75/25 mix of R.G.I. acceptable.

By comparison, in 1989 the O.H.C. tenant profile reported 57.7% of its families and 63.7% of its seniors earning up to \$10,000 annually. An additional 32.5% and 34.6% earned \$10-20,000. Thus 89.2% of families and 98.3% of seniors in OHC units earn less than 20,000. In addition, the wait list for entry into OHC units now exceeds 40,000. This total excludes most of the estimated 20,000 homeless in the Metro area alone.

Examination of the resource base reveals that current operating subsidies of the Ministry of Housing presently sit at \$351 million and are expected to increase to \$1 Billion by 1994. (Report to OHC Board Oct. 1989) CMHC pays 50% of operating subsidies for the public housing program, thus that share may also increase to \$1 billion by 1994. Further, the federal government has proclaimed the major fiscal goal to be the reduction of increases in government expenditure to the 3 to 5% range by 1992. The Economic of Canada Au Courant Vol. 10, No. 2. 1989, claims that federal fiscal policy must do all that it can to forestall a debt crisis. In the wake of the April 1989 federal budget, taxes - including the goods and services tax, designed to improve economic efficiency - have pretty much reached the limit that Canadians can digest. This means that every available opportunity must be used to reduce expenditures in order to speed up the process of deficit reduction. In 1989, there is a substantial and increasing need for housing services to low and moderate income groups. At the same time the ability and willingness of national government to fund these programs has diminished. It is against this backdrop that the lessons from St. Lawrence are important.

In this environment, the Non Profit/Coop sector seems to be its own worst enemy. Shelby and Wilson (1988) offer partial justification for coops by explaining that:

"Indeed a unit in a nonprofit cooperative can serve as a 'starter home' for upwardly mobile households who leave when they have accumulated enough capital to buy a home of their own."

In the same vein, Tennyson quotes a former coordinator of Cityhome as saying "All satisfaction surveys on St. Lawrence would do is prove a point" (Tennyson 1987, 26).

As well, the 1980 survey chose to report the full quote of an irate resident who was offended that St. Lawrence residents were identified as being subsidized. The language is revealing:

"I now feel like an undeserving welfare recipient. I hate the press coverage and am beginning to dislike telling people where I live (Phase A, Survey of Residents, 1980)

Finally, many cooperatives reserve the right to choose from the wait list of R.G.I. applicants rather than taking from the top. The rationale is that the integrity of the co-op principles is protected by this precaution. Selection criteria in Woodsworth for example include:

"commitment to co-op principles, demonstrated financial responsibility, indication of long term commitment to co-op; likelihood to be a good member and neighbour, and to maintain the home in good condition; household size and income meet co-op requirements." (Social Audit Woodsworth, 1989, 6)

The combination of lack of sensitivity reflected in the Resident Survey and Shelby quotes; the unwillingness in St. Lawrence to do more than the mandated minimum of 25% R.G.I.; the pattern of "cherry picking" compatible co-op members; the refusal to believe, in the face of clear evidence, that rents are subsidized even for those that pay what are termed 'market' rates is consistent with an unwillingness to do thorough evaluations. The inward looking, self protective nature of co-operatives, that is one of their strengths, is also a major flaw.

6.1.4 The Need for Evaluation

If governments are to be persuaded to continue to support communities based on the St. Lawrence concept, they must be provided with clear evidence that the cost/benefit relationship justify the programs. In 1974, St. Lawrence offered direction, thus for all that has been substantiated is dilution. The 3 to 1 solution that is tantamount to a \$30,000 lottery prize. If you win, you go to St. Lawrence and enjoy the benefits of a \$3,000+ annual subsidy in rents regardless of need.

The failure to evaluate has left critical questions unanswered. For example some co-operatives in Toronto, Windmill Line for example, provide subsidy for up to 44% of their tenants. Shelby and Wilson suggest that there is a general but not unanimous feeling that the optimum level is between 30 and 50% (Shelby and Wilson, 1988, 16). If this is the case, the number of deep core needy that can be assisted in St. Lawrence for example, may be doubled without comprising the co-operative concept. Estimates of assistance to R.G.I. tenants nationwide range from 35-42% at present.

Additional questions relate to the level of subsidy to income earners in the upper quartiles. The pilot projects in the early co-operative history were authorized to implement a system of rent surcharges. "The plan required households whose incomes rose above moderate levels to pay a surcharge which was rolled back into a subsidy fund for low income members of the Co-operative." (Shelby & Wilson, 1988, 8)

The scheme was abandoned when government rent supplement schemes became generally available. If the surcharge was a useful idea why was it discontinued, since it has the potential to deflect major criticisms about targeting and equity?

There are questions, also, about participation and representation. Out-numbered three to one, do R.G.I. residents feel part of the decisions making processes, or do they allow themselves to be "taken care of?" In Woodsworth, upper income residents were twice as likely to be part of the decision making exercise than their actual numbers suggested, while single parent mothers were least likely to participate extensively in cooperative activities.

The 1980 resident survey showed that Crombie Park with higher rent scales than some co-operatives in St. Lawrence had a clearly lower range of incomes. In 1982, the method of reporting income and other characteristics was changed making it impossible to determine if some kind of income segregation was occurring.

Finally, the citizen participation process used in St. Lawrence is being replicated to some extent in "Ataritiri". The questions about representativeness raised in the Social Service report have remained unanswered and the N.A.C. resembles the working committee method used in St. Lawrence. Those who lived through that experience are not enthused about the method.

In summary, Hulchanski, 1984 wrote that St. Lawrence offered the opportunity for social scientists to study a 'variety of important questions'. The fact that these questions have not been answered is disappointing; the fact that we have not tried to answer them is shameful, and the fact that governments are preparing to move forward without these answers is irresponsible.

Looking to the Future

In the immediate post war period governments agreed reluctantly, that the private market could not and would not provide adequate, affordable housing for all Canadians and government reluctantly entered the housing arena in an increasingly direct manner. In the 1980's government policies, in Ontario in particular, have increasingly discouraged private sector participation in the provision of rental housing. This has occurred at a time when the Canadian construction industry is arguably the best in the world. In the last decade major players like Cadillac Fairview and Campeau have decided to leave the residential construction end completely. There is a sense among developers that the pendulum, in Ontario, has swung too far in the direction of transferring property rights from owners to tenants. For example, statutory controls exist that determine the pattern of rent increase, the ability to demolish rental property, and the extent and capacity to repair or refurbish rental property.

If the private sector is discouraged from increasing the flow of rental units by the creation of an investment environment that is not attractive, then the demands on governments to increase their share will escalate. At the same time, however, the antipathy to public housing continues. Little new construction in the OHC portfolio has occurred since 1979, only 2% of OHC buildings are less than 10 years old, and 30% are more than 20 years old. The "Homes Now" commitment of 30,000 units is surrounded by a quagmire of inconsistent, and often contradictory housing policy driven as much by economic imperatives and political expediency as it is by concern for housing.

Evaluation in St. Lawrence must be a part of a general evaluation of housing policy in Ontario. Reactive housing policy driven by political timetables and informed by special interests has proven ineffective. The function of evaluation in housing policy has become synonymous with extinction of programs. The process of experimentation followed by elimination serves everyone badly, especially when the new objectives are indistinguishable from the old, the need is greater and resources less.

An appropriate housing policy planning process for Ontario must include the following characteristics:

- Realistic
- Well focused
- Secure
- Consistent
- Role for Public Housing

Realistic

This suggests that the process recognize political, economic and social realities. For example, when we speak of affordability we refer to the capacity of the society or its willingness to bear certain kinds of economic and social burdens. In the same vein for as long as the preferred structure of economic organization is premised on a capitalistic system of individual initiatives, then we can expect capital to move away from housing to more attractive investment opportunities. Thus the definition of housing as a market commodity has certain concomitant and inevitable consequences, many of which we face today.

Well Focused

Schorr 1963, argued that to be useful policies should be well defined and should have some clear concept of what specific condition policies were designed to correct and the relationship between the interventions and the expected results. Much of Canadian housing policy has been experimental. This, plus the unwillingness to evaluate, has led to few lessons being learned from the process.

Secure

Policy should be secure, that is it must have the opportunity to be properly tested. This requires a secure level of funding that is adequate for the task; a certainty that evaluations can be thorough and non-threatening; and that other levels of government make longer term planning commitments consistent with the initiatives.

Consistent

The hodgepodge of ad hoc policies makes consistency difficult. In addition, it tends to be both inefficient and ineffective. Consistency must be improved between and among levels of government, and agencies within governments. This may require that some difficult political decisions be made.

Role for Public Housing

The existing OHC portfolio comprises approximately 100,000 units. The entire Homes Now Program will provide 30,000 new units, only 25-50% of which may house deep-core needy. As figures provided earlier show, almost 98% of the OHC portfolio serves a population below the median, and 89% - 98% serves those in the bottom two income quantities. Given the pattern of distribution and growth of the needy population, the capacity to experiment with programs such as the cooperative non-profit housing program is premised on the existence of public housing. It is time that the foundation of the housing assistance system in Canada be brought back from the exile to which the Hellyer Report condemned it. Without a functional public housing system there is no workable system of housing assistance.

New Directions: Quality of Life

The search for direction is concentrating increasingly on quality of life issues. Examination of this literature and its predecessors (social indicators, and standard of living type measures) shows that there has been tremendous difficulty in the definition and interpretation of indicators and measures of quality of life. The subjective/objective; qualitative/quantitative arguments have continued unabated for over forty years (Mukerjee, 1989). At the same time in Ontario quality of life concerns seems to form an increasingly important element of modern planning processes. The City of Oakville, the Region of Hamilton Wentworth and the City of Toronto have either included or are in process of introducing quality of life measures to the process.

This concept, though interesting, has been tremendously difficult to operationalize. However, one area of optimism is the increasing recognition of a relationship between quality of life and empowerment. Further, the process of empowerment seems to be advanced by strong participatory processes. As the 1990's approach with strong indications of constrained public resources, it becomes critical that we learn from what we do. This requires both monitoring and evaluation as necessary components of a process of innovation.

Ataritari, for example, must be made to produce more in terms of understanding than St. Lawrence has to date. To do this, an evaluative process is critical. In addition, the sharing and coordination of information will assist the process. The Quality of Life research must become part of an operational process that examines carefully, the impacts and interrelationships among and between concepts like empowerment, equity, participation and representation. It is the operationalization and the evaluation of attempts at implementing these concepts that will prepare housing providers to survive the strictures of the 1990's.

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6.2 PANEL DISCUSSION: LIVING IN ST. LAWRENCE

Jack Layton: Moderator

Thank you Joe. I think you have stimulated some discussion. Speaking about participation and empowerment, a number of the women who live in Regent Park and some of the other OHC developments ran a conference a year ago about life in OHC communities. They spoke about the relationship they have with the OHC bureaucracy. There were a lot of eggs thrown at the OHC there. One of the sad things, however, was that nobody from the OHC board was in attendance, as far I know.

In fact, the domination that is experienced in those communities is about as severe as you will find anywhere in the country. Perhaps we can follow up on the contrast between the OHC and the housing in St. Lawrence later on.

Let's turn to another speaker. Earl Miller is manager of the Community Services Policy Section in the City of Toronto's Planning and Development Department. He has worked for twelve years in the social planning field. Earl was a member of the consulting team, headed by Meyer Brownstone, which prepared the original Social Services Study for St. Lawrence. He is currently on leave from the City for a year, on an assignment with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship.

Earl Miller, Speaker:

Joe Springer's speech depressed me. I was also depressed at the thought of reflecting back to 1975, when I was part of the Meyer Brownstone team, not so much because it was not a great experience, (because it was,) but because I never thought I would have to reflect back more than ten years on anything. I have to agree with the thrust of Joe's statement that one of the basic questions that we have to ask is, "Is St. Lawrence now what it was supposed to be when we were conceiving it?" I think not.

There is a basic problem looking at change in any community. It can be reasonably argued that nothing can be the same after ten years. After all, we are not; so a community that is a living, breathing, dynamic organism should not be the same either. However, I think that there are basic standards or principles which one had hoped would apply in St. Lawrence, not at its beginning, but several decades later. I think this is what Joe Springer is so trenchantly criticizing. In fact, the principles which existed in the minds of people back then are nowhere near what exists today, even though one could arguably say it is a livable community. The people who enjoy living in St. Lawrence have every right to feel that sense of pride and achievement about their community.

In 1975, when a group of us were thinking about social services in St. Lawrence, we had a very definite value set in mind. We thought we were working to do things that would affect poor people; that would affect people who were without power, that had limited access to quality shelter. Our strategy in looking at social services in St. Lawrence was to emphasize the principle of empowerment, even though we were planners. Some people may say, "why empowerment?" We thought that a mature community is not simply bricks and mortar. It is not simply infrastructure. It has something to do with how people experience their lives and feel complete as citizens within their neighbourhood. We were dealing with poor people; with low income people who have not had "quality housing." It was very apparent that these were people who were without power, because not only did they not have good quality shelter, they were without the kinds of resources and services which they needed to feel like complete human beings in their neighbourhoods.

When we looked at social services and the broad range of support which people need in communities, we said that our objective was to look at those things which centre people in their neighbourhood and make them feel alive, capable and competent. Housing was an essential part of that. Our strategy was that the housing was for low and moderate income people. I think Joe Springer has said that the current condition belies that.

We also felt there had to be opportunities for people to participate in the neighbourhood housing and community services design. It was essential for people to have some influence for shaping what was eventually arrived at. There had to be community social services infrastructure. Why? Peoples' health and well being were at stake. There was need to be flexible and responsive to concerns of equity and about the distinct characteristics of communities of poor people. They were different in race, in age and in family structure when compared to families that were well off in our society. There need to be structures for communication and information so that people would have the knowhow and intelligence to apply for what they wanted within a setting where they had some control. There should be focal points, physical points within the community where people have a sense of turf: where they could go to organize, where they could go just for social interaction, but also where they could go to learn and to receive services. Finally, there had to be an anchor within the community which led to the development of skills, which would help people begin to manage their lives, not only in their housing but in the community generally. Those were some of our aspirations.

We talked about them in fairly traditional terms, in the sense that we talked about health clinics, libraries and various services and facilities which anyone needs through the process of development. However, I think that we tried to talk about them in a very radical way. What did I just say there? Radical. Well, that was ten years ago. The spirit of it was that we were trying to do something that would help people transform their own lives. This idea was not just something put on by government in a public project, but something which would help people shape and change their community in which they felt they were a part of.

What were some of the obstacles to that process? In planning any community, (and I think Ataratiri is the same), there have to be clear policy decisions at the beginning about what the neighbourhood is going to look like in terms of its demographic composition, age structure, racial composition, whether people are single or families and so on. That analysis was done in St. Lawrence and it is being done in Ataratiri. There is a strong sense of conviction that the principles adopted at this stage should apply throughout the development and implementation stage and somehow be codified throughout so that the community remains for those it was intended to be.

The principal criticism of St. Lawrence which I got from Joe Springer is that the community didn't end up being the community of individuals for whom it was intended. We are talking about very complex issues here: not only defining what community it is that we want, which is a difficult process in and of itself, but also how such a community is maintained and nourished. This situation forces policy makers to make critical decisions about how many low income singles you have in the neighbourhood, how many disabled people, how many refugees and immigrants. It forces people, up front, to declare what their intentions are about the vision of the neighbourhood. That is very, very difficult. It is difficult for planners because you want to keep your options open. It is also difficult, I think, because you are talking about a problem that our society has real difficulty with: taking affirmative steps for people who are without power. That step means declaring up front an ideological and value commitment to ensuring that people who are disadvantaged get the resources they need and get quality living experiences. That is very difficult for our decision makers. It is a challenge which Ataratiri also faces.

Another difficulty, and we traditionally used this in the past, is that we have worked with surrogate residents instead of the real residents themselves. This technique seemed logical because after all, we couldn't identify who was actually going to live there. So we get people who are sort of like the people who are going to live there. We get them to say what it is they want and then apply that once the people who actually live there move in. I still think we have some problems in making the transfer from working groups and task groups to the new community. The problem is that there is a tremendous momentum built up once working groups and task forces have been put in place and made decisions, which is difficult to make adjustments and respond to when the new community moves in.

There are also difficulties with the social services delivery system. It is incredibly balkanized with the health delivery system in one place, the social welfare system somewhere else, the housing everywhere and the community recreation centre somewhere else again. One needs planning, organization, and coordination to ensure that these things get not only commitments, but put in place. If there is a failure which we had as a social services community it was convincing City Council to put the people in place to orchestrate this complex web of developing community infrastructure. It is easier for planners to deal with known quantities such as commercial, industrial components, physical design and massing. I am not saying that the people who work on those things do not have integrity or that they do not care about the other aspects of the project; but we are dealing with the system. The system that delivers the community service infrastructure is so balkanized that it is easier to leave those things to the end, and if there is any space left over, put the community center or the multi-purpose centre in.

My conclusions about this process are that we need to refocus our intentions on empowerment. We need to refocus our energies on ensuring in some way that the community which we envision at the beginning, for the low and moderate income people, is actually the community that results. We need to ensure that there are mechanisms put in place to ensure that it happens. I cannot elaborate on this difficult issue at length, but it means that as planners we must come to grips with how communities which are developed for low and moderate income people stay that way. We need people in place who plan community infrastructure as a serious business, not simply as an "add-on" to the normal land use planning efforts. These people should be intricately involved in the development of land use process so that the social infrastructure and the landuse components are developed in tandem. These people must have the expertise and the sensitivity to the community to be able to ensure that the physical and social elements are interlinked.

We also need a process which, like development review, examines the implementation of the community infrastructure and asks the question, "Did it really happen? If not, why not? If not what do we do about it?" It would be completely improbable that we would permit a developer to put up a building and then allow him to put in a parking lot, or to not review whether or not loading and other requirements are appropriate. Why do we not have a similar structure ensuring that the community centre, the multi-purpose centre, the health clinic is provided in the way it was envisioned? We need some sort of a process before that will take place.

We also need, perhaps, to look at some of the technical issues and realize that back in 1975 there was a great deal of experimenting going on. We were flying by the seat of our pants. It was a very exciting time. I was a student, and I think I was enthused with the sense that we were doing something important.

There are structural problems in providing the kind of integration between physical and social elements. We have to look at some of those technical problems. For example, the whole funding question: If it takes three years lead time for the Ministry of Health to fund a health clinic, how do we deal with the problem that the site planners have in reserving a space for something which may or may not get funding over such a long period of time?

We must have a clear sense of our values and our vision about the community and ensure that the process and the plans are put in place to ensure those values and structures get affirmed in the actual development of the project.

Jack Layton:

We are now going to hear from Ken Dobb, one of the first residents in St. Lawrence. He moved in the latter part of 1979. Ken has been a member of the Woodsworth Co-operative for all of that time, and he has been on the Board of Directors and has served as president there. During the last few years, he has also been active in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association, serving on all kinds of committees looking into planning issues in that area and right across the city. Basically he's one the St. Lawrence shit disturbers down at City Hall. Let's see what he is going to do here.

Ken Dobb, Speaker:

I think my job as a shit disturber has been usurped. The response that I wrote is a little bit different, after hearing Joe speak. I was going to be considerably more satisfied than is appropriate now.

We are satisfied. It is a good neighbourhood. It is a really good place to live, and I think that it is a good place to live for many of the reasons that have been said before.

I want to briefly discuss a number of those things, such as empowerment. Empowerment is a very difficult concept. In the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood we have probably one of the highest concentration of resident controlled buildings in the city. The ability of residents to have input into their living conditions breeds satisfaction. I take issue with what Joe is saying as I don't think empowerment can be measured simply by being on the Board, or on one of the committees. In co-ops you find very informal networks develop. People who do not necessarily sit on boards have access to people who do make decisions. Critically, they have access to offices which are staffed by people who are hired on the basis of their ability to deal with resident problems. Instead of dealing with bureaucracies, residents in co-ops deal face to face with people who are mandated to satisfy them. I think that that is a very powerful and crucial difference.

The empowerment that we have in co-ops is extended of the planning to our neighbourhood to some extent. You heard about how there was citizen participation in the early stages of the planning of the neighbourhood. Well, that participation is ongoing. It is not something in which a great many people participate. The level of interest in neighbourhood planning issues tends to fluctuate, but when there is intense neighbourhood concern about an issue, the mechanisms are in place for residents to make their voices heard. My experience is that those voices are listened to.

Some part of our satisfaction with the neighbourhood comes from the fact that it looks different. We are designed in a different fashion from other parts of the city that provide socially assisted housing. I think there is a great deal of satisfaction that comes from those designs and realizing that a great deal of trouble has been taken over the design.

Two things that have not been mentioned previously, are the network of interblock connections which have provided a basis for people to meet and talk. They encourage a great deal of on-street and in-block informal communication, which has been very useful. The other item is that a lot of St. Lawrence has been designed with some sensitivity to the physically handicapped; this has bred a great deal of satisfaction among that population. I think I am correct in saying that St. Lawrence has the largest concentration of physically challenged people in the city.

Something else which distinguishes us from other public housing areas is the quality of the construction in the neighbourhood. We have undoubtedly some quality problems. All of the exterior cladding at Windmill Line Co-op, for instance, had to be rebuilt. There were problems with construction at the Crombie Park apartments which are well documented. However, I don't think that there is any doubt that we feel that the work that has gone into the building of our neighbourhood is a step above what we have seen in public housing projects and in the low end of the private rental market.

We are also satisfied because we are in an affordable neighbourhood. Hulchanski said it well: we are forty percent less than market rents and that is a powerful incentive to be satisfied. There is an issue here as well. The issue that Joe raised is that the neighbourhood was designed for low income people and does not now seem to serve that purpose. My experience with the people that I know, (particularly with Woodsworth Co-op) is that their low income status was associated with some form of dislocation in their lives. Woodsworth provided shelter for people whose lives are in some form of distress. In the ten years that I have lived there, I observed that these people have managed to get their lives straightened out and with that has come a movement in their economic and financial circumstances. That pattern is generally true across our neighbourhood. There is a problem comparing the equity and efficiency of delivery of housing subsidies in a project now with a project ten years old.

The largest source of satisfaction for residents in the neighbourhood (especially the people who moved in the first phases), is that they bought into a particular concept. St. Lawrence is not simply a housing project, but an idea that the City had about the downtown core, about living in the city. Many of the people moved in because they believed the centre of the city is a place for people, for residents and that it should be a lively and animated place. They moved into St. Lawrence because they believed in the concept of a neighbourhood that was going to be socially mixed, in which low income people would mix with people with more moderate means. Frank Lewinberg described an axonometric poster of what the physical structure of the neighbourhood would look like ten years from the beginning of the project and how closely that has worked out. I think the neighbourhood social structure has worked out the same way.

Joe spoke about broken promises. I don't think the City has broken any promises to the residents. We got what we thought we were going to get. We got a lively downtown, a downtown we feel comfortable in. We have a neighbourhood we feel comfortable in. We got a neighbourhood which exhibits all kinds of mixes: mixes of tenure types, mixes of income and social circumstance, mixes of age and family structure. We got what we were promised. We were not deceived.

When putting this speech together, I tried to think about ways in which resident satisfaction or confidence could be displayed. There are several things that came to mind. One measure is the level of resident care of the property. When we moved in there was really very limited landscaping done. Now there is an incredibly intense amount of work done in planning and maintaining landscaping in the neighbourhood. That kind of care is an expression of residents' pride in what they have been offered.

If I were to ask my neighbours about their neighbourhood, you would find an ability to articulate the concept of living in the city and the concept of mix. It is something that is in the forefront of their minds, and it has worked in strange ways. References were made this morning to the Berkeley Street Co-op. It will be a small housing project; only ninety units. Berkeley Street is sponsored by reputable providers of social housing, the Co-op Housing Federation of Toronto and a group called Homesfirst. It is based on co-operative principles, so there is nothing in conception which is new to the neighbourhood. The difference is that it is 100% rent geared to income units.

It is interesting that the opposition to that co-op in the neighbourhood was widespread. It was not simply among the people who owned homes in the neighbourhood; but there was also opposition among those who were either renting at Cityhome or members of other co-operatives. The responsible opposition (there was certainly some irresponsible opposition), to the co-op was based on the fact that the Berkeley Street Co-op is perceived to be a violation of the norm of income mix in the neighbourhood. It was interesting that the proponents of the Berkeley St. Co-op were a little late in coming forward to support the project and their support was somewhat apologetic. The idea of mix is now working against some experimentation in public housing; a situation which I think is rather unfortunate.

I want to conclude by enunciating an outstanding agenda of concerns of residents. You must start by understanding that we are still a developing neighbourhood. We are still building and trying to work out how to live together. Perhaps the most important item on the agenda of residents in the last ten years has been trying to get a community centre in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood was initially planned without a community centre. One of the first things that the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association did was try to get a commitment for a centre. It is important for a number of reasons. As Michel Labbé said this morning, "kids were kind of an after thought in the neighbourhood." We have a large population of teens that are not served and have very few outlets for activity. We hope that a community centre will provide some sort of focus for that activity. A community centre is currently under construction and we have great hope that it will serve our needs.

A community centre is important for other reasons. In many ways, St. Lawrence has a cool atmosphere; I don't know how else to put it. Certainly in the co-ops there is an immense amount of activity among co-op residents. I spoke about the informal networks in co-ops. These are not replicated across the neighbourhood as a whole. I know everybody on my side of the street where I live, because they are people in my co-op. I know who they are, I know some details of their lives. Across the street are the townhouses of another co-op and I don't even know all the faces. The mechanisms for developing the informal contacts across the neighbourhood are few, for a number of reasons. A decision was made to concentrate retail on Front Street, but I think that if retail had been concentrated on The Esplanade there would be a greater opportunity for informal interaction around the activity of shopping, for instance. A community centre, I feel, would provide a focus for these informal contacts around recreational activities.

Among the other things on our agenda, we need more daycare facilities. The problem with kids growing up in school portables has been enunciated. We have a new school coming on stream which is overdue. The park is the organizing principle of our neighbourhood but it doesn't give us a single large chunk of useable green space for active recreational uses. The existing park near the Hydro site is too small, but there is a chunk of land that may become available to put in larger facilities. However, it is tied up in negotiations between the City and Hydro and may eventually turn into a condo; which is not, in my view, a desirable development.

We are also involved in the final phases of development in the neighbourhood. The parking lots around the Market are being developed. These late developments bring issues of the downtown coming to the neighbourhood. Previously, the parking lots isolated us physically and psychologically from the downtown. These developments raise lots of issues associated with onstreet safety and design. St. Lawrence was a residential enclave carved out of an industrial area. It is still surrounded on three sides by industrial land: to the north by King/Parliament, to the east by an area which will become Ataritari, and to the south by the East BayFront. Certain elements of the site design, particularly to the south and to the east, inhibit connections between the neighbourhood and of those parts of the city. Some part of the future agenda of our neighbourhood will be to see how we can adapt the design of the neighbourhood to changing land uses to better integrate the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood with the changing city.

Jack Layton, Moderator:

The last speaker is Joe D'Abramo. He worked with the City Planning and Development Department as the St. Lawrence area planner between 1979 - 1984. He has also been a board member of a housing co-operative and Central Neighbourhood House. Joe is a graduate of Ryerson School of Urban and Regional Planning. He will share some comments from his perspectives on the community.

Joe D'Abramo, Speaker:

I want to focus on the St. Lawrence neighbourhood as a place, from a community planning perspective, since I was a planner in that area for about five years, during much of its development phase. I want to touch upon the three lessons that I can recall from St. Lawrence: community participation, community organization, and the impact on the city at large.

Before I do that, I want to make a few comments on Joe Springer's paper. I have two areas of concern. One was the emphasis on low income housing. He questions whether the affordable housing goals for St. Lawrence have actually been met. In his paper, he extrapolates data which suggests that possibly less than fifty percent of the units are currently below the median income of households in the city. Although he may have a good point, I find that a lot of his arguments still deal with the housing programmes. If you want to attack on the ability of St. Lawrence to attain income goals, you are really talking about the ability of the housing programmes themselves. They are national in scope, so I think we should be looking at more than just St. Lawrence. I don't think our eyes should focus just upon St. Lawrence when he makes that point.

There is also Joe Springer's concern with lack of evaluation. I know, when I was there, the residents were concerned with the amount of evaluation. It is always a problem when you are dealing with new types of development like St. Lawrence. The Neighbourhood had a great deal of attention at the time it was being constructed and it continues even today. I agree with his need for more evaluation, but his emphasis is on the question of the attainment of some amount of low income housing, and I don't know what that target was. It has never really been talked about. It suggests to me that we should look at the programmes, the co-operatives in general, as opposed to focusing on St. Lawrence.

I would rather focus on St. Lawrence as a neighbourhood. The housing co-operatives proved to be really important in terms of helping to organize community participation. When the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association was first established, they looked at the community and realized that they had a whole bunch of co-operatives which were already organized. It was decided that there would be representatives from each co-op. The Cityhome buildings were organized next and they also had representation sent to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association. When I went to the meetings of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association (SLNA), information was disseminated rather quickly through the representatives going back to their buildings. The neighbourhood was very well informed and organized, from my experience working in community planning. One problem occurred when the freehold townhouses were built. Eventually, they were organized as their own separate association. The whole area was quite an intriguing event from a community organizational standpoint.

The only other point I wanted to make to attest to that level of community organization in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is that the SLNA is involved in citywide issues quite often now. Their latest involvement is with the Metro Waterfront Coalition. They were involved when the Refuse Fired Steam plant issue was around. They have got involved in a number of issues that went beyond their neighbourhood, in a very short period of time, when you consider the neighbourhood was actually still under development at the time. I was there, and I think that St. Lawrence's ability to organize should be noted.

A lot of facilities in St. Lawrence have been accounted for. Earl Miller pointed out how his work on the community services accounted for the need for certain activities in St. Lawrence. Space was provided for them, with some exceptions such as the community centre. It was through that process that I realized that overplanning an area like St. Lawrence could be to its detriment. When the community rallied around the issue of school and community centre, it was actually involved and quite happy to be involved. If earlier, when the park was being developed, money was already available and plans were prepared and presented to the community. There seemed to be a lack of interaction between the residents and the planners of that area within their community. Whereas with the issue of a community centre and school, the community got very involved and seemed to prosper from that participation.

I don't know what the answer is. On one hand, as Earl mentioned, you need to ensure that the community is provided with all of its social service needs. On the other hand, the involvement of the community in planning these facilities seems to be a matter that needs to be addressed, as well.

My last point is the impact of St. Lawrence. The neighbourhood is used as a model for new development, inner city re-development especially, for the physical form and social mix. St. Lawrence has made an impact in not only this city, but others, in terms of the importance of providing this type of housing in the inner city. For example, the Railway Lands Plan refers to a St. Lawrence type of development. There are some aspects of St. Lawrence, such as its physical design or its community organization, that should be reviewed and as model for future developments.

Jack Layton, Moderator:

Well Joe Springer, they let you off pretty easily. Perhaps I can make a few of comments before we take questions from the floor.

It is interesting what you did not talk about in your presentation. I wonder why you didn't take a look at the Cityhome component of St. Lawrence. I thought that was an interesting omission and a significant one, because it produced a bias in your analysis. As a political scientist I find that disturbing. A careful study of what Cityhome has been doing will show that they are increasing the number of people in Cityhome who receive one form of assistance or another. There is a recognition of some of the problems that you've identified, and there is also an attempt to respond to them.

Also, when you talked about the people in St. Lawrence who now have a low housing charge to income ratio, it was almost as though you were trying to make those people feel guilty for their situation. That is an interesting hypothesis. I would like you to take a look across the City at housing charge to income ratios. Let's take a look at housing charge to income ratios of the most affluent in our society. What about people who make their money by exploiting the average citizens in this city, who rent apartments or who rent condominiums from an absentee investor/owner. The housing charge to income ratio of the affluent is very low and yet they do it off the backs of others.

What would Joe Springer have us to do in this situation? It seemed pretty clear to me what he would have us do. His point of view is to evict the people who have succeeded in St. Lawrence; get rid of them. Kick them out. Of course, this is exactly what happens in OHC. Once you succeed, if your life should take a turn for the better, you're out, folks. Well, guess what happens in that environment? The community is destabilized. Anybody in the community, who finally has their life together and might be able to help their neighbours to get their act together, is gone. Residents who could help organize for the provision of services like daycare, schools and the important interpersonal networks that you need to make a community healthy, those people who got their act together, are out. The net result is terrific for OHC bureaucrats and the politicians in charge, because it keeps the community destabilized, alienated, powerless, and, therefore, able to be dominated by the most regressive structures.

I must say I am talking from experience here. I've represented OHC projects for a very long time. I've spent an awful lot of time in those neighbourhoods. I don't know if Joe has. My experience of those structures and the quality of life in those projects, (you can't call them neighbourhoods) is that it is a struggle just to be able to eek out any kind of relationship with a few neighbours in the kind of environment that is created there. Now, this is not to say that the co-ops, in St. Lawrence and across this nation, should not begin to look at ways of distributing the total subsidy dollar they receive each year from the Canadian government better within their co-ops; I believe they should. I believe that Co-ops should voluntarily undertake this. And you know something else, I will bet that they will do it, whereas most others who benefit in our society, don't give a damn about trying to redistribute the benefits that they have to others. In co-ops, you will find that they do give a damn. That is my response to your paper.

Joe Springer:

It is unfortunate that Jack didn't read the paper that was sent to him. You either didn't read it or you didn't understand it. I credit you with too much intelligence not to have understood it, so I presume that you did not read it.

First comment: it said very clearly what I would do. I suggested that in the early 1970's when the Co-op movement was struggling for survival, they used a surcharge process, which didn't kick people out once you crossed a certain income level, but started charging back. This provision disappeared when the government charged the programme and I posed the question: "Why?"

Secondly, when I raise the question of RGI, all that I am suggesting in my paper is that the capacity to play around with co-ops, is premised on the fact on a hundred thousand units of RGI exist. If we had to deal with all of the needy in this society, we could not play around with Co-ops at fifty percent RGI, or a twenty five percent RGI, using three units for one. We would not have that luxury.

Jack Layton, Moderator:

Well, I disagree with your last point, but I am sure that there are lots of other comments that can be made.

6.3 GENERAL DISCUSSION: LIVING IN ST. LAWRENCE

Val Rynnimeri:

I am Professor of Architecture at the University of Waterloo, where I teach the Urban Design Studio. Right now we are struggling with the issue of affordable housing but in Mississauga, where it is a bit stranger. Believe it or not, I think what Joe is saying does have some architectural implications even though I think he did say that St. Lawrence has been presented as a kind of urban design panacea for what are really other kinds of ills.

I speak, in particular, of a design exercise last year by the architect Paul Reuber, (who spoke this morning) on a "St. Lawrencization" of Regent Park as a "fix up" process for it. I'm curious, because I think Joe Springer's discussion raises some disturbing points about the impact that architecture and urban design theory can have on solving problems, like Regent Park, by making them more like St. Lawrence. If you look at Regent Park, it is disturbing because there are successful examples of that urban design, in places like New York's Stuyvesant Town. The only problem is they are all middle class. If Regent Park (and let's even include Moss Park which is an even more dangerous example for architecture had the same kind of socio-economic structure and income distribution that St. Lawrence has) would they be successful neighbourhoods? If you were to clear out Regent Park and move in the Yuppies, would they be happy there? Would it be a great market opportunity?

Joe Springer:

Yes. All we have to do is look at Cabbagetown. It was the northern extension of Regent Park. The area we known as Cabbagetown today was defined as a urban renewal area, the next area to be knocked down. It was listed in the literature in the late 50s and early 60s as the largest white ghetto in Canada. I suggest you look at the literature. I'm an academic; that is one of the things I do. Therefore I suggest to you that if you could change the income and socio-economic structure in Regent Park, you could have a phenomenal neighbourhood.

Brian Bee:

I am a resident of the neighbourhood and supplier of statistics to Joe Springer. For a minute, Joe, you made me feel guilty. Then you quoted the proportion of Rent geared to income units in Windmill Line Co-op at forty four percent. As a resident of Windmill Line, I became somewhat satisfied again because I'm one of those damn third quartile yuppies and the forty four percent gave me some consolation. I started to think a bit about Mark Twain too, as your speech used statistics in various ways.

We have to look at St. Lawrence as not finished yet. We are looking at it in a particular point in time and Joe raised a good point about the structure of the programs which resulted in the mix we see right now. If we look to the future, we will add some five hundred new non-profit units in the neighbourhood. Those units will probably be somewhere near seventy five percent rent geared to income. They will start to change the income mix of the community a little. We see that with the Berkeley Co-op at a hundred percent RGI. The other units coming on will have a much higher geared to income level because of the structure of the new programs. Cityhome also has an allocation of some five hundred RGI units to add to its portfolio. The St. Lawrence projects where Cityhome has almost a thousand units, will be the beneficiary of some of those additional RGI subsidies. We should start to see a more balanced neighbourhood as it nears its completion in terms of mixing. We yuppies will become even more diluted, rather than it being a dilution of the lower income people.

Joe Springer:

And in all fairness, I hope people got the message when I suggested that Cityhome, in fact moved to do something about it by capping the income levels. I made it very clear that Cityhome had done it, I made it very clear that the co-op movement as a whole across Canada served somewhere between thirty and forty two percent RGI, I was not blaming them for anything. As far as I know I haven't misused any statistics, unless my sources were in error.

Penny Bethune:

I am from the Labour Council Development Foundation and also the Vice President of the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario, so I feel that it is incumbent upon me to stand up as one Board member to another, make a few comments and ask a sincere question. Amongst my comments are the nature of the government programmes that funded the housing co-operatives in the St. Lawrence. The programs in the mid 1970's limited co-operatives to subsidizing no more than twenty five percent of their residents.

I happen to have been the president of a co-op developed at the same time as the St. Lawrence co-ops, that is located in a lower income working class neighbourhood in the west end of the city. It has had the good fortune to be represented by people like Mike Goldrick and Richard Gilbert. We fought tooth and nail with the Ministry of Housing to be permitted to subsidize half of our housing co-operative, so that we would better reflect the community we were in, as well as the people we wanted to serve. They allowed us to do that eventually, after much negotiation, but at the cost of spreading the subsidy equally across all unit types. We could not give preference to the family units where we felt there was greatest need.

Since that time, co-operative programmes have changed, permitting us to subsidize more people. And again these changes have not come because somebody has been insightful and said, "Oh we need to put more subsidized units into Co-operatives". They have come because the co-operative movement itself has lobbied for its life every five years, to force the government to permit us to house more and more people in need. Those programs have changed since the St. Lawrence was founded. That is why the Phase B projects have higher levels of subsidy. In the last three years the programs funded under the federal/provincial agreement have subsidy levels that are slightly more than fifty percent on average across the province.

The other comment I'd like to make is that co-operatives, municipal non-profits and private non-profits have been the only suppliers of new units for affordable housing for the last fifteen years. We have been the icebreakers. We are the people who have gone into the communities and argued with them that twenty five percent to fifty percent of needy people is not so bad, really. We have to put on a different face to achieve community acceptance for the ideals that we certainly share. I am very mindful that in the next year we are headed into another campaign with both senior levels of government. We are already organizing ourselves in terms of technical evaluations, and political lobbying that we will need to do. The co-operatives, the tenants movement, the anti-poverty organizations, the labour movement, the Faith communities must put pressure on those senior levels of government to continue their commitment to developing affordable housing.

We must go out and lobby once again for the people who can't live in our projects, because I would agree, getting to live in a Co-op anywhere is like winning a lottery. Do you have any advice for us?

Joe Springer:

One of the points I made is that somewhere close to fifty percent RGI is what the Co-op people say they can serve. It was my way of acknowledging very openly that I have no problem with the Co-op idea. The changes that I would like to see would address the vertical equity problems, and may have to do with the raking off the top of it, for example.

My biggest concern is that there are two solitudes. There is the RGI portfolio and the OHC portfolio, a hundred thousand units out there. You are correct, since 1979 have OHC has built only two percent of its units. They practically built nothing in ten years. Those two percent are almost entirely senior citizen housing. So there is no question that Co-ops carried the can for the past ten years. The unfortunate thing about a twenty minute speech and a forty minute paper is that you have to leave stuff out. And what I chose to leave out was the whole piece where I took large vigorous swipes at housing policy in general.

Perhaps the simplest thing to do is to give you the four points I suggested. Appropriate housing policy in Ontario must be realistic, well focused, secure, consistent and include a role for public housing. Under realistic, I included both an understanding of societal affordability as well as individual affordability. Under well focused, I said we had to decide whom we were going to try to help and how. The policy should be secure and must have the opportunity to be properly tested. This requires a secure level of funding, that is adequate to the task, a certainty that evaluations can be thorough and non-threatening and allow other levels of government to make long-term planning commitments in line with these initiatives. That was my definition of security. I suggest further that a process of evaluation followed by an elimination of a program serves nobody well. It makes every evaluation a threatening process.

I suggested that policies be consistent, and I suggested that we start to increase discussions between our two solitudes. The OHC portfolio which sits over here and the rest of the assisted housing sits over there and we must walk down the street, working together, because if we are going to convince upper level of government, we cannot allow ourselves to be picked apart piecemeal, because nobody wants a hundred percent RGI. I could pick holes in your argument the section 56.1 evaluation did and say the co-op programme is is not well targeted; it serves a very small percentage of the portfolio and it is an inefficient way to deliver a system. You picked at one end and I picked at the other end and we both get hit. The suggestion is that we have got to work together.

Jack Layton, Moderator:

Thank you very much. I think we should all applaud those sentiments.

Bud Binney:

I wish I had an opportunity to prepare a paper and have twenty or thirty minutes to tell you more about St. Lawrence and why it works. To me, the co-operative housing system is the only system in this country today that can provide working people with housing. I'm talking about lower to middle incomes. I have lived in co-op housing since 1974, and if it was not for my co-op, I don't know where the hell I would be right now, probably, on a Salvation Army cot or something like that. At any rate, I am truly in love with the co-op movement.

However, I think that this particular meeting is probably giving the co-op movement more bad publicity than it has seen for a long time, and that really bothers me because it really deserves good promotion. I think you are heading in the wrong direction by increasing the number of rent geared to income units in each building. I would rather they concentrated on building more buildings and giving more people the opportunity to get into the co-op movement.

Just take a look at the map at the front of the room. You will see St. Lawrence stretching from Yonge Street over to Parliament Street. In the beginning, all of that land was made available. Everybody was invited to participate, and by everybody I mean the Co-ops, Cityhome and all of the private developers. Who jumped in to get their feet wet first? Co-ops and Cityhome. When they built the neighbourhood and proved that it worked, then the private developers jumped in. We are filled now with more moderate to luxury condominiums. We are surrounded by them. It is wonderful, because the doggone neighbourhood works and rich people are not afraid to move next door to poor people.

I live there, and I'm proud of it, I really am. I think anybody living in St. Lawrence feels exactly the same way. We have something that works. St. Lawrence has taught us a lot, certainly we have come a long way from Regent Park. St. Lawrence may not be perfect, but it's the closest thing to being perfect that we have built so far. So let's get on with it and make Ataratiri even better.

Mitzi D'Souza:

I am involved in the private non-profit sector and peripherally in the Co-op Housing sector. I want to direct these two comments to Joe. You certainly stirred a lot of emotions in me, when I took your housing course, four or five years ago. You eloquently baffled us with your statistics as I remember you did in class. You did not talk about the permanency of housing when you criticized heavy subsidies made to the co-op sector. Secondly, your quotation implied that someone living in a co-op or a private non-profit housing project, should be made to feel guilty for having security of tenure. I would like you to comment on solutions for that.

Joe Springer:

Security of tenure is a basic right. I mean there is not a housing program without security of tenure. We struggled so long to get this whole question put to rest. It is not necessary to debate, it is so clear in my mind. However, it has implications if you are going to have security of tenure in a population where one anticipates income increases. As Earl pointed out, we should have some sense of the population we want to serve and how we want to serve them. That may mean going back to first principles. The income surcharge was among the first principles from the co-ops themselves. The second question of the quote I find in poor taste, not only because of what it seems to suggest, but because the bureaucrat who put the report together didn't have enough public sensitivity to include that quote in a document that would be within the public realm.

Earl Miller:

One of the real pressures for co-ops and Nonprofits is to be far more equitable in terms of expanding the range of people to whom they are accessible. If we are going to expand the number of RGI units within buildings, then we have to look at the far more complex question of how do we ensure that appropriate supportive services are provided to individuals in the housing. This is not just a housing question; we are talking about communities. For those people who have been involved in supportive housing, I think there is a recognition that, in order to ensure stability and permanence, people who perhaps have special needs may require supportive services in order to stabilize their lives. My concern is that the system which provides those services is not very adequate and is not well organized. For those people in the housing sector who are contemplating RGI units, let us not do so naively, without a recognition of other things that it implies.

You heard what Ken Dobb said: no child care and the community centre didn't go in early enough. These were things that we said were absolutely essential in the Social Services report. I hate to say I told you so, but I told you so, and so did the other people as part of the consulting study. Those things were not included, and it is clear that they were shortcomings of development of the community. They are concerns which residents now have, and they will be complicated if you expand the number of low income persons within neighbourhoods. I am not saying that it should not be done, but it should be done with the full knowledge that what you are talking about is not just housing; you are talking about communities and housing and services. One needs to examine what the requirements of individuals are, on a service by service basis. Who are the refugees, the discharged psychiatric patients? Who are the other groups, who, because of equity considerations, also need to be factored into the process of getting housing into our communities.

Barbara Thornber:

I am with the YWCA, Metropolitan Toronto and also a surrogate resident of Ataratiri, in that I am the Chair of the Neighbourhood Advisory Council, unofficially representing women and children, and officially representing the community non-profit housing sector about which we have not heard a lot today. I would like to say on behalf of the sector that I represent, that a lot of us do run 100% RGI and we are doing it successfully. We have got to look at other reasons why Regent Park didn't work, and I think that a lot of that has to do with empowerment and participation. Those of us who are running 100% RGI, are doing it on a facility management point of view, where the tenants do have the right to say what they want to happen in their building. They form tenant advisory councils. The second thing that I want to say is that I am not on the Ataratiri Neighbourhood Advisory Council to build a lot of housing in this city for the wealthy. I just want to assure you, Mr. Springer, that there are those of us on the Council who are very committed to housing, to subsidized housing, for social housing and for some affordable housing as well.

Joe Springer:

Thank you, on both counts.

P.J. Nicholson:

I am the present Chairman of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association (SLNA). I want to congratulate Ken, who told you exactly how we feel in our neighbourhood. I thought he spoke extremely well on the way we have grown. We have a very strong association with City Hall, and we try to get down there as often as possible. We have people that really work on neighbourhood issues and it is all volunteer work. We are an association of groups made up of Co-ops, Condos, Cityhome and private ownership. Thank you Ken and Jack, and I hope Mr. Springer gets a better attitude towards our own very livable neighbourhood.

Rob McLeod:

SLNA. I hope that the swipe at the yuppies won't put off all the yuppies that are in our crowd today or the up and coming yuppies. We would love to have you in our neighbourhood. You mentioned something about, low income people not having an input. The higher income people, are on higher educated and are on boards, and that sort of thing. I thought about that because I'm one of the lower income people. I have two hidden disabilities. My wife is in a wheelchair, and we live in an RGI unit on a very limited pension.

You know, having a tête-a-tête with you would be very difficult, Joe, with all your stats and your words and such, it's very difficult for somebody to deal with that. Why? low esteem maybe, no self confidence, another point with the uneducated. But in our neighbourhood, we do, that's why I'm here, that's why a lot of people that I know who are in my position in the St. Lawrence are helping with that neighbourhood. We don't necessarily sit on boards. I certainly don't sit on a whole bunch of committees or boards or such. I belong to the SLNA because I was pushed into becoming the delegate for my building, because nobody seemed to want to do it. I was elected when I wasn't there. I have been involved with the Neighbourhood in various ways, and I have done a lot of significant work in St. Lawrence, you know, back door, low key. You will find that a lot of the people in our neighbourhood do that.

That is why I invited you to come down and talk with us. Not to rely on your stats and your figures, but to come down and to see how the community works, because it does work. That is what we are proud of. You said that low income people would feel threatened by all those people who are higher income. Three to one. I don't feel threatened. I feel privileged to live next door to these people. I live in a building where there are doctors, lawyers, entrepreneurs, people who own stores, seniors, single mothers and disabled people. We talk to each other. We meet each other in the hallways, and we can live door to door, and we discuss the policies of the neighbourhood. That is probably one of the most important things in this neighbourhood.

People who are yuppies and single mothers, who are living on twenty dollars a week, can talk to each other and decide how they are going to live in that neighbourhood. That is important and neighbourhood neighbourhood makes it work.

In Crombie Park apartments (that was the first building I lived in) I could hear the person next door in the bathroom. The walls were that thin. In the building I now live at 55 scadding Avenue, the bedrooms are literally twice the size. The bathroom has an actual door and basically it is pretty quiet. I can't even hear the general noise of the GO Transit trains going by. We have learned a lot from building the first projects buildings at a cost that was low enough, to make them a nice place to live.

You cannot compare the prices that people are paying in those co-ops and the Cityhomes to the area around them, because it's not significant. The condos that are rented, maybe cost two thousand dollars a month. They get pools, atriums with huge waterfalls, sculptures and trees and such. Their places are generally bigger. They have got designer kitchens, jacuzzis, two and a half bathrooms for an apartment. You can't compare them. Of course, a two bedroom apartment in our project maybe costs \$700 per month but a two bedroom apartment, in the market place costs \$2,000. It's worth it.

Jack Layton:

We are going to wrap things up with a last comment from Helen Bulat, who is now the planner for the St. Lawrence neighbourhood.

Helen Bulat:

I wanted to avoid that point, but since you brought it up, perhaps I could qualify it by doing two things. One is to mention, that even though I'm white, I am a woman and do intend to be so in ten or fifteen years from now when we have another conference, on both St. Lawrence and Ataratiri. Secondly, I would like to ingratiate myself to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood by presenting Dr. Springer with this T-shirt which says...."The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. We have it all."

Thank you all very much for, if I may use that word again, passionate discussion.



7. LEARNING FROM ST. LAWRENCE

7. LEARNING FROM ST. LAWRENCE

David Gordon:

Our last session looks at three urban communities from both physical and social design. Our moderator is Paul Dowling, who is a manager of the Social Housing Policy Branch Ontario Ministry of Housing. He has been involved with Social Housing Policy in the Ministry for the past six years.

Paul Dowling: Moderator

The discussion that took place in the last session focused on the issue of income integration in publicly founded new communities. That is a debate which has been going on in this province for many years and it will probably continue for many years into the future.

Before I introduce the next panel, I will make two brief points on the discussion which took place in the last session. Penny Bethune from the Co-op Housing Association told you that Co-ops are striving to increase the geared to income of their projects in this province. You may have been left with the impression that the Province of Ontario has stood in the way of an increase, which is simply not true. The Province of Ontario is urging non-profit producers to increase the rent geared to income component in their projects; to as high level as they wish not only in the new buildings, but also in existing projects in communities like the St. Lawrence. The co-ops have indicated that they are prepared to go as high as fifty percent but not beyond.

The other and more seriously point is that Jack Layton may have left you with the mistaken impression that Ontario Housing Corporation evicts people when their incomes go up and they improve their situation, which is also not true. Ontario Housing Corporation provides tenure, as any landlord does. As your income goes up, you can certainly stay as long as you like.

This last session looks to the future. I think it is particularly appropriate that as a representative of the Government of Ontario, I have been given an opportunity to moderate this panel. At the beginning of this conference, the Honourable Alan Redway spoke of the federal governments involvement in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Now with the evolution of roles of the senior levels of government relative to housing and urban development, it is particularly appropriate that we look to the future with neighbourhoods in which the provincial government is playing a major role. I know I speak for the Honourable John Sweeny, Minister of Housing for Ontario when I say we look to these projects and these neighbourhoods with a feeling of excitement and anticipation for what we will do for the future of this city and the future of this province.

Paul Dowling, Moderator:

We have three speakers this afternoon who are going to speak about three different new neighbourhoods which are in the process of being developed in the Toronto area. The first speaker will be Ross Winter, who is an architect and a planner. He worked several years in the private sector as an architect and a land developer, and following that spent ten years as a housing project manager with the City of Toronto Housing Department. During that time he worked on six projects in Phase B of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Ross was appointed as manager for the Ataratiri Project in December 1988.

Ross Winter, Speaker:

I am intimidated because my boss is sitting in the second row and I am also intimidated because I think every speaker, mentioned Ataratiri during the content of their presentation. I am gratified in one way and frightened in another, for the attention that Ataratiri is getting.

The first question to address is "what is Ataratiri?" It is a joint City/Provincial initiative, with the City being the developer and with the City guaranteeing the financing. It is intended to be a break even exercise in land development. The aim is to provide seven thousand housing units with at least thirty five percent social housing, twenty five percent affordable housing, and not more than forty percent market units. This will be the subject of public review and which will require the approval of the Minister of the Environment before development can proceed.

In the initial presentation yesterday, David Hulchanski talked about the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. It was municipally planned and developed. It was inner city, high density and, it was socially mixed. It was a neighbourhood, but the definition of that was somewhat nebulous. Ataratiri will also be all of these things, but because of its scale (it is over eighty acres in gross area) will probably be more than one neighbourhood.

Ataratiri differs from St. Lawrence in a number of ways. First of all, it is a Municipal/Provincial initiative. It involves two levels of government rather than three, at the present time. If any representatives from CMHC are here, we also would like to invite them to participate in Ataratiri. It is more remote from the core. I think that results in a need for Ataratiri to become more self sufficient than the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is. It will not be able to rely on the existing infrastructure to the same extent. It is almost double the size of St. Lawrence and therefore will be at least as diverse in terms of tenure types and mix of uses. A specific goal has been set regarding the number of permanent jobs in Ataratiri. Therefore, it will be truly a mixed use community. The target is fifteen hundred jobs, which is almost double the number that are being displaced. There are non-resident uses in St. Lawrence, but they tend to be along Front Street and are, therefore, easily seen as not being part of the community. This will not be the case with Ataratiri.

Ataratiri will have a slightly higher density than the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. The question of density was first addressed by Frank Lewinberg yesterday. It has been a terrible bogey man and something of an abstraction regarding what one, two, or three times coverage (FAR) may mean. The built form is really the issue, rather than the abstract measure of density in times coverage or Floor Area Ratio. It is interesting to note that the solutions proposed for communities like Moss Park and St. James Town are to increase the density by adding more grade related housing.

A more public process is being undertaken for Ataratiri, at least I understand so, because I was not involved for St. Lawrence at the time it was initiated. We have a nineteen member Neighbourhood Advisory Council (NAC) which meets monthly in public sessions and has seven subcommittees to address a range of special interests. It has sponsored a series of public forums addressing a range of topics and has published quarterly newsletters. The first thing to remember is that we are not talking about a project for Ataratiri. We want to really address the extension of the existing city. Environmental issues are a greater concern here apparently than they were originally St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. The scale and prominence of Ataratiri suggests that the environmental lobby sees it as a test case or a precedent, and what is achieved here is may set the standard for future large scale public and or private developments.

The issue of flood protection is extremely important. The standards that are required in Ontario are high; Probably as high or higher than any other jurisdiction. Whatever solutions are implemented in Ataratiri will protect large areas of the existing city, extending as far west as the O'Keefe Centre. In order to create some degree of normalcy, I think we have to be somewhat sceptical about designing to doomsday flood scenarios. The standards of protection will be required are something I think will have to be considered by all parties for debate, as this level is not required with the fire code.

People have talked about CMHC site planning guidelines as they apply to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. This situation is similar to the one we are facing now from the Boards of Education in regard to requirement for school sites. They have suburban standards, and suburban expectations applied to the urban sites.

The location of Ataratiri is such that the benefits of an environmental cleanup and the influx of a new population will be more widely felt than those which flowed from the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. There was talk yesterday of a spillover effect of further rehabilitation in the areas to the north of St. Lawrence, but the neighbourhood itself is adjacent to the downtown core and really probably had no impact on the core itself. I already mentioned the extend benefit of flood-proofing. Adjacent neighbourhoods, such as Corktown, will be reinforced. They are more residential in character than those that surround St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. There is a real prospect to create a relationship with the Don River which could become a recreational amenity in the long term. Existing sources of pollution which for years affected St. Lawrence, Corktown and South Riverdale will be removed. For example, the rendering plant on Lake Shore Boulevard it has been acquired even though its site was not specifically part of the Ataratiri development.

There seems to be a general consensus that Ataratiri should not be just a dormitory community downtown; it should draw people from all over the City. This could be accomplished by including educational or cultural institutions. Ataratiri should be on the way to somewhere else, so that people pass through it going about their day to day activities. We think that being on a transit line would be important. The TTC is part of the planning process they appear to be willing to look at new lines and the relocation of existing ones. The concept places Ataratiri in a context similar to the City's Main Street initiatives. Indeed Ataratiri should have a main street with local convenience shopping with community and social services to serve as a social focus for the community.

Other issues which have been identified and which NAC considers important are security, accessibility to all, and flexibility for adapting to changing circumstances, which is something that St. Lawrence has demonstrated in the course of its ten year existence. We would also like to create special places or conditions within a regular pattern, something which has been characterized as irregularity or surprise. There is relentlessness of the red brick in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, particularly in the first phase which was a subject of criticism. A wider colour range of brick was adopted in the second phase. It may not be a significant step but I think there is a unity in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood that is lacking in some newer downtown communities. I think that unity is a positive quality. The newest buildings in St. Lawrence depart from the norm in both the amount of glazing, the material, and colour. They seem, to me, to stand out like sore thumbs.

The overall image of St. Lawrence is rather traditional. The appropriate image for Ataratiri is a subject of ongoing debate within the staff, the Neighbourhood Advisory Council and the political arena. What materials might best be used in a Toronto context to accomplish a new image is another item of serious consideration.

District heating was talked about for St. Lawrence and the Railway Lands, to the extent that a proposal call was issued. Nothing really came of it in either case, and the issue now stands before Ataratiri. Will anything be achieved this time? There are other players that are going to have to carry the ball on that issue. If it is not in place when the first buildings are ready for occupancy, the concept is doomed, because the prospect of providing conventional systems and then, at a later date dealing with district heating, is so extravagant that it is a foolish consideration.

Presentations at a public forum on land use and physical design issues addressed the development of London in the nineteenth century and the creation of extensive wilderness areas among the Don. Jane Jacobs was in attendance at that forum and reminded the audience that the context that we have to address is Toronto in the late twentieth century. We are dealing with a site in the core of a major metropolis. It is not the countryside or England in the nineteenth century. That was a basic note of realism which both the development team and the approving agencies would do well to remember during the course of their work.

The media has instilled in the public mind a notion that PCBs were one of the most lethal substances known to man. We are now being treated to articles in the press interviewing Nobel prize winning chemists wondering what all the fuss was about. Similarly, articles back in the early days of occupancy of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood showed photographs of the backyards of Woodsworth Co-op and said that the City had created an instant slum. It was a series of cattle pens with bare wooden fences completely unrelieved in any way. If you look at those same lanes and backyards now, it is luxuriant with planting and vines and trellises. The new neighbourhood is used, a little worn and adapted by its residents. Achieving that takes time. Allowance must be made in assessing a community freshly released from construction hoardings. I think the moral is: make your own judgements and, above all, don't believe everything you read in the paper.

I would say to Frank Lewinberg that the team is working very hard, having a good time, and we hope we are being passionate. Four consulting firms did two conceptual urban design studies each. These studies address what they think the potential might be and which issues must be addressed from the point of view of age, conditions, relationships to adjacent neighbourhoods, disposition of uses and so forth. One suggestion is the creation of an open public plaza which links the Canary Restaurant at the corner of the Front and Cherry Streets to the existing Sackville School on the north side of Eastern Avenue. It creates an historical context for the neighbourhood which is otherwise lacking. This scheme, prepared by George Baird addressed a fairly regular grid pattern.(Figure 7-2) It proposed townhouses along side streets replicating a traditional Toronto form of housing, and higher density uses at the ends of blocks. They proposed opening up a fair amount of green space along the eastern edge of the site in relation to the Don. There is always that railroad track in the way.

Another scheme prepared by A.J. Diamond/Donald Schmitt and Co. cranks the grid to the east of Cherry Street, so that rather than reflecting the grid pattern of the downtown core, it relates more directly to Corktown immediately adjacent to the north.(Figure 7-1) There are two options which are now being debated. Their scheme was based on a series of more English squares surrounded by residential buildings. Their other option provided a cover over the rail corridor and Bayview Avenue, which is extended south to meet the Lake Shore Boulevard. A significant amount of filling would raise the grade on the site back almost as far to the east as Cherry Street, so that Front Street becomes an underground route from Cherry down to its intersection with Bayview Avenue.

FIGURE 7-1

Diamond/Schmitt & Co.

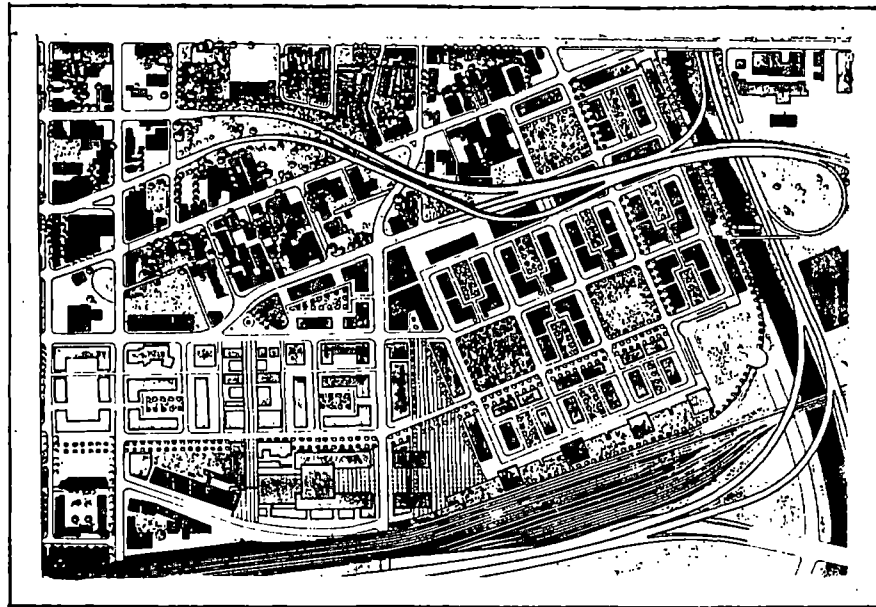


FIGURE 7-2

Baird/Sampson

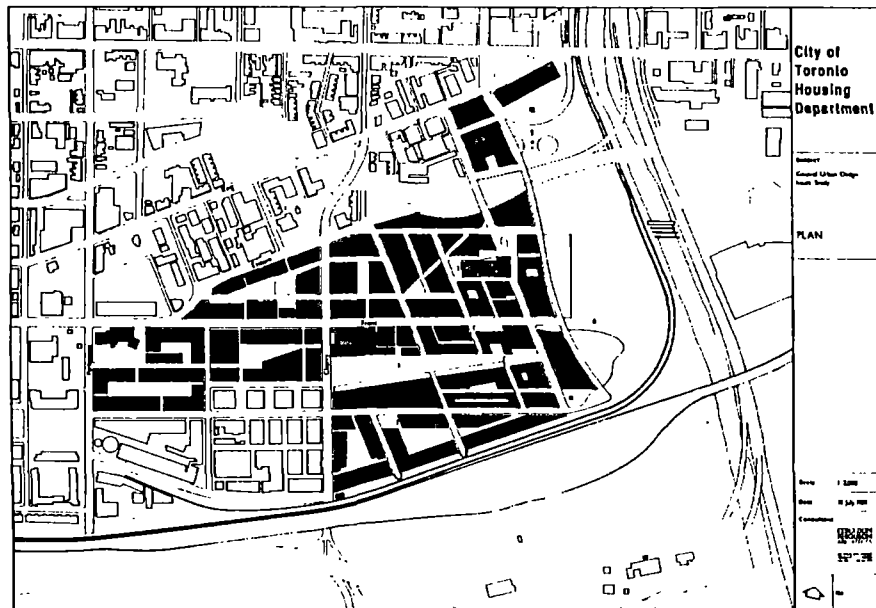
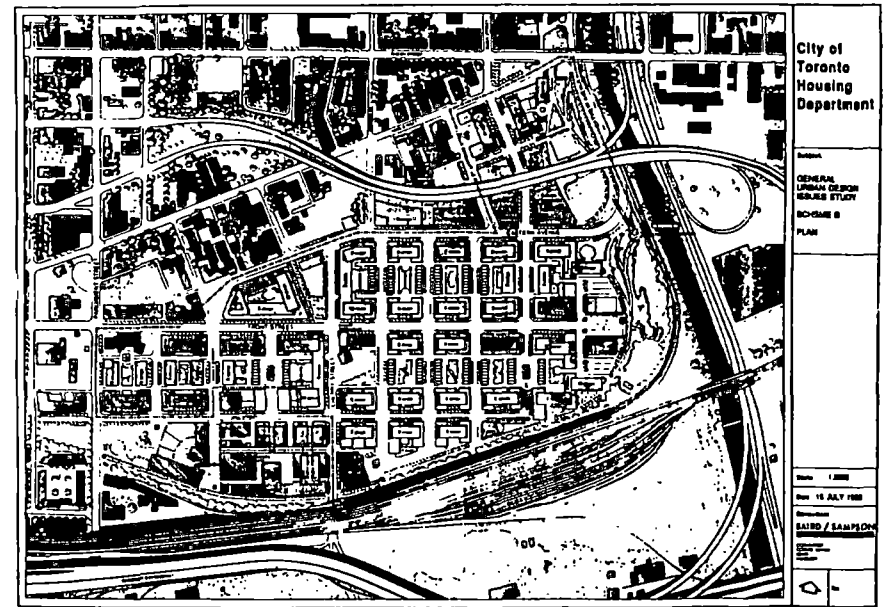


FIGURE 7-3

Ferguson & Ferguson

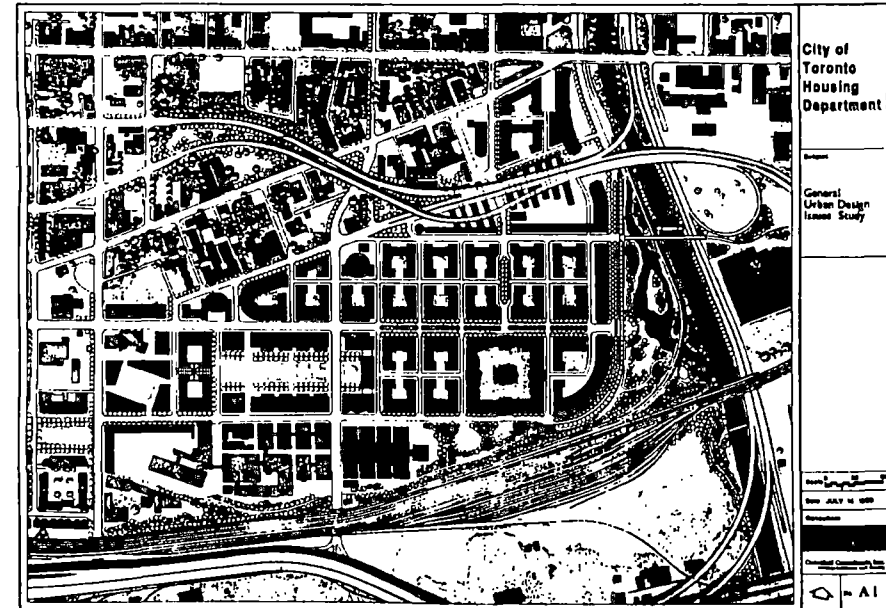


FIGURE 7-4

Jurecka Lobko Tregobov

Ferguson/Ferguson Architects proposed two schemes. One was called growth by prescription; a fairly regular net of streets although with a cranked grid that would be infilled by buildings. "Growth by desire" was a much more European plan. It identified key points on the site at the moment, drew lines between the established use areas and really let the buildings fill in the spaces that remained.(Figure 7-3)

Jurecka, Lobko Tregebov did a scheme which proposed the greatest amount of wetlands and park space adjacent to the Don.(Figure 7-4) They created a new water feature which reflects the original course of the river with islands. They proposed that Bayview Avenue meet Mill Street, where presently it terminates at Front, so that the eastern edge of the site rather than being closed and defensive against environmental blights can be expansive and outward looking to the east. That notion of an outward, rather than inward, looking community is attractive.(As illustrated in the site plan proposals in Figure 7-5 to 7-8)

ATARATIRI

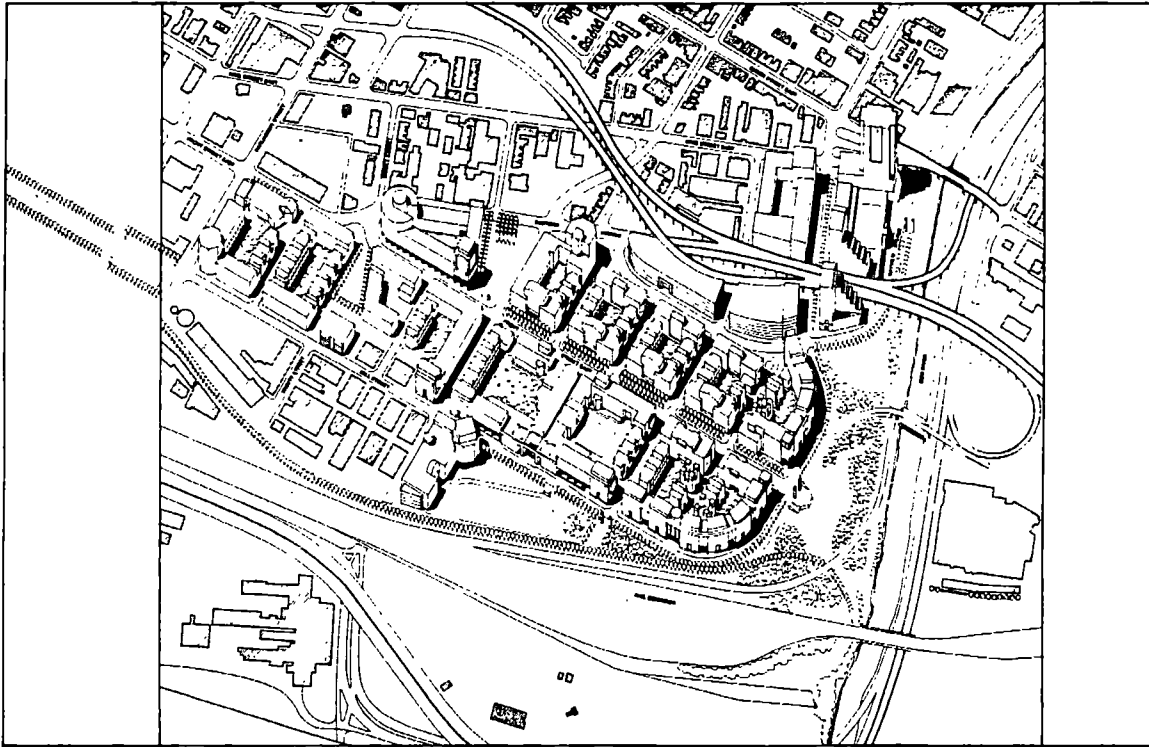
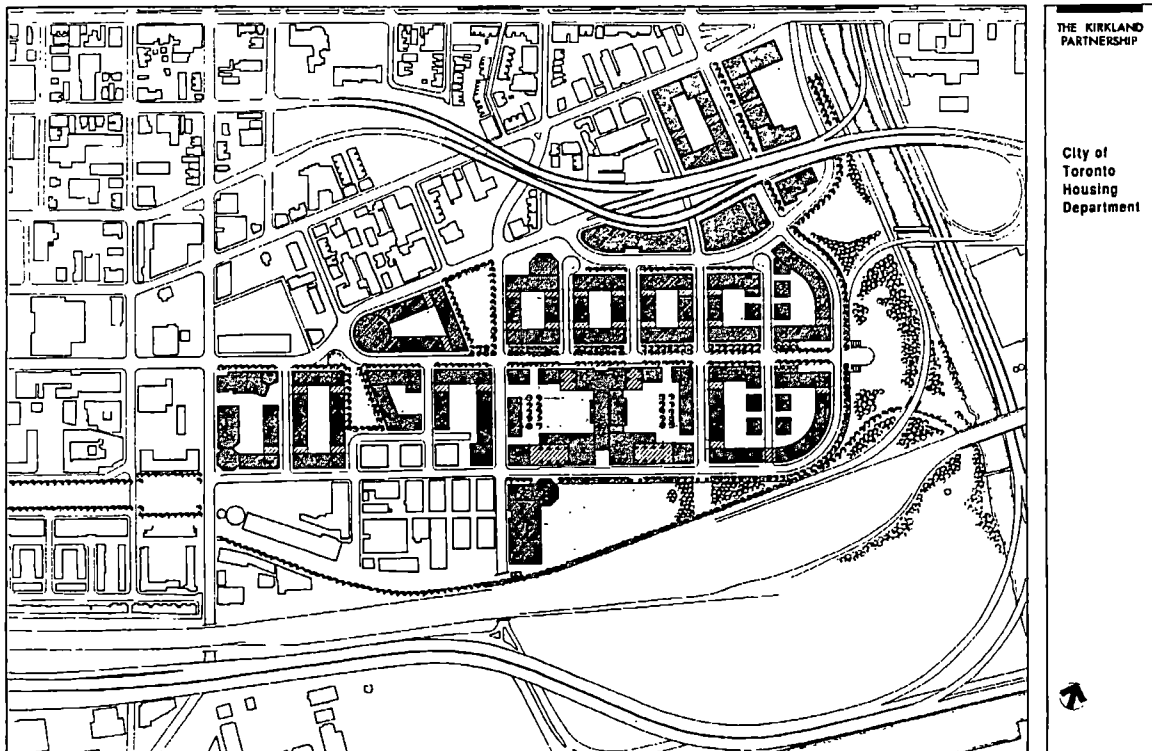


FIGURE 7-5

Axonometric View of Proposed Site Plan

Source: The Kirkland Partnership

ATARATIRI



THE KIRKLAND
PARTNERSHIP

City of
Toronto
Housing
Department

FIGURE 7-6

Proposed Ataratiri Site Plan
Source: The Kirkland Partnership

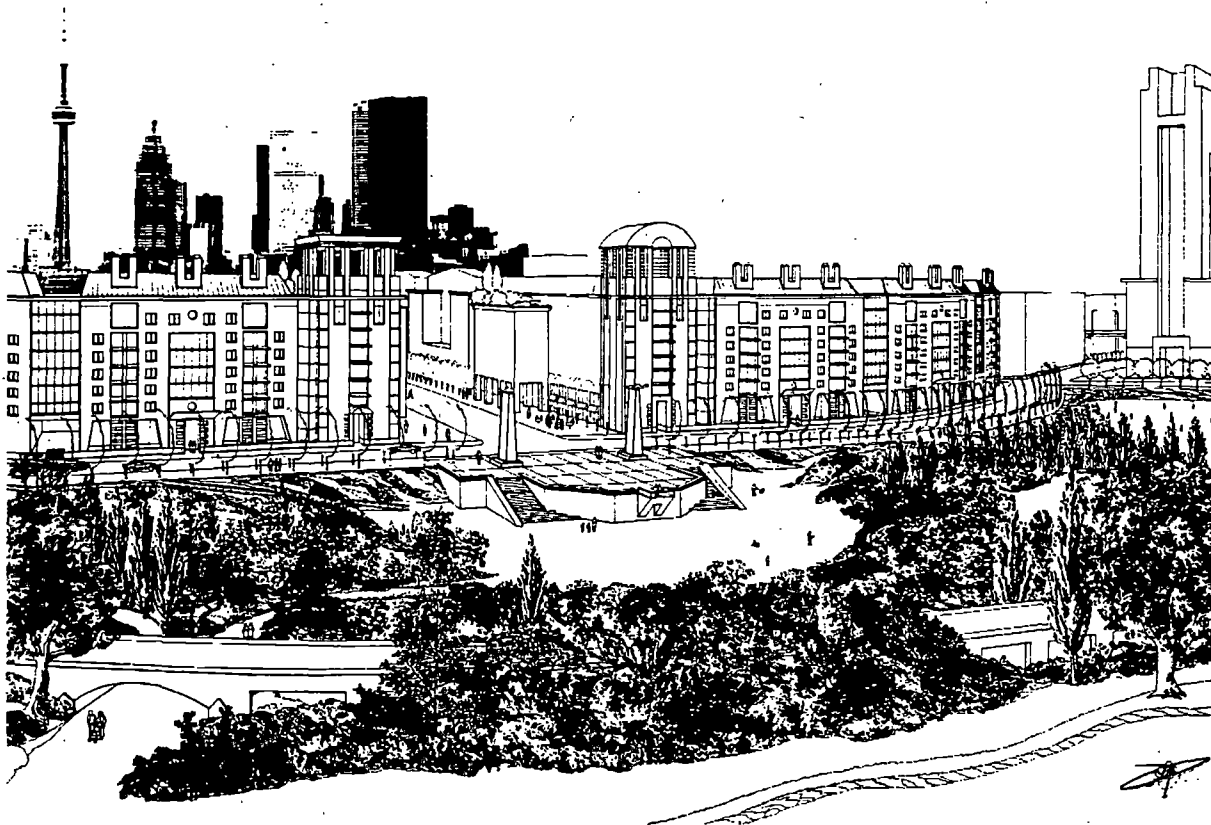


FIGURE 7-7

Perspective View of Proposed Don River Park

Source: The Kirkland Partnership

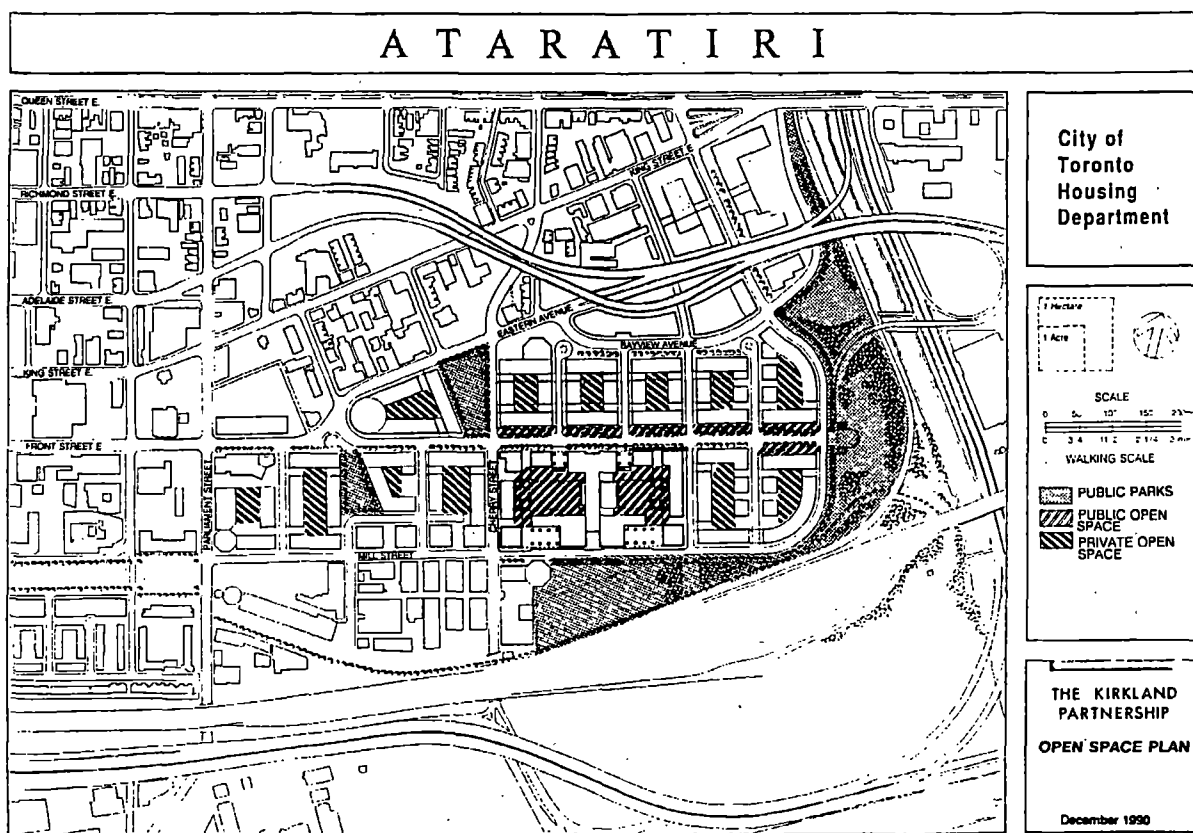


FIGURE 7-8

Proposed Ataratiri: Open Space Plan

Source: The Kirkland Partnership

Paul Dowling, Moderator:

Our next speaker is George Baird, who is an architect born in Toronto. He has taught architecture at major educational institutions in Canada, United States and, England and has lectured extensively throughout the world. As a principal with the firm of Baird/Sampson Architects, George been involved in numerous building projects, feasibility studies and urban design, including acting Chairman for a national design panel for the preparation of a new plan for Toronto's Harbourfront. He has been involved with urban design and site planning for the Ataratiri Neighbourhood and was also involved as an advisor for the Block Study for the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

George Baird, Speaker:

I propose to make some comments about the relationship of architecture to some of the social questions in the provision of housing, which loomed so largely in the previous discussion. I was interested to hear Joe Springer talk about architectural determinism in the exchange of opinion he had with Jack Layton because in the fifties and sixties I found myself very troubled by those allegations. Those of you who are younger will not have much recollection of that but, it seems to me it was a change in architectural and urban thinking. Architects believed for thirty or forty years that if you made buildings in a particular, idealistic way, you could be assured that a beneficial public social result would surely follow. It was in the fifties and sixties when it finally became apparent that this was a naive and paternalistic (albeit well intentioned) belief on the part of architects. The loss of confidence in it was a fundamental turning point, certainly in my own career as an architect. I believe it was a fundamental turning point in the whole history of architecture and urban design in the twentieth century. Much of our efforts since then have been to rethink the basis of an appropriate architecture and urban design for our time, in ways which abandon those naive and presumptuous expectations of those who came ahead of us.

However, it seems to me that there are still some important and discernable relationships between built form and social patterns. They are still important for us to work with and think seriously about. In that regard, I was further troubled by the commentary which proceeded back and forth in the last discussion when Joe Springer so quickly agreed with Val Rynnimeri that if you were to fill up Regent Park with Yuppies, the project could thereby be declared a social success. That seemed to suggest the possibility that we had gone from thinking in the fifties and sixties that architecture could do everything, to thinking in the nineties that it can safely be assumed to have no effect whatsoever. Since I hold a position somewhat between those two extremes, I wanted to use my few minutes to explain a few basic questions which might get lost in the heated ideological struggle between the architects and the social critics in respect of that historic controversy from thirty years ago right up until the present.

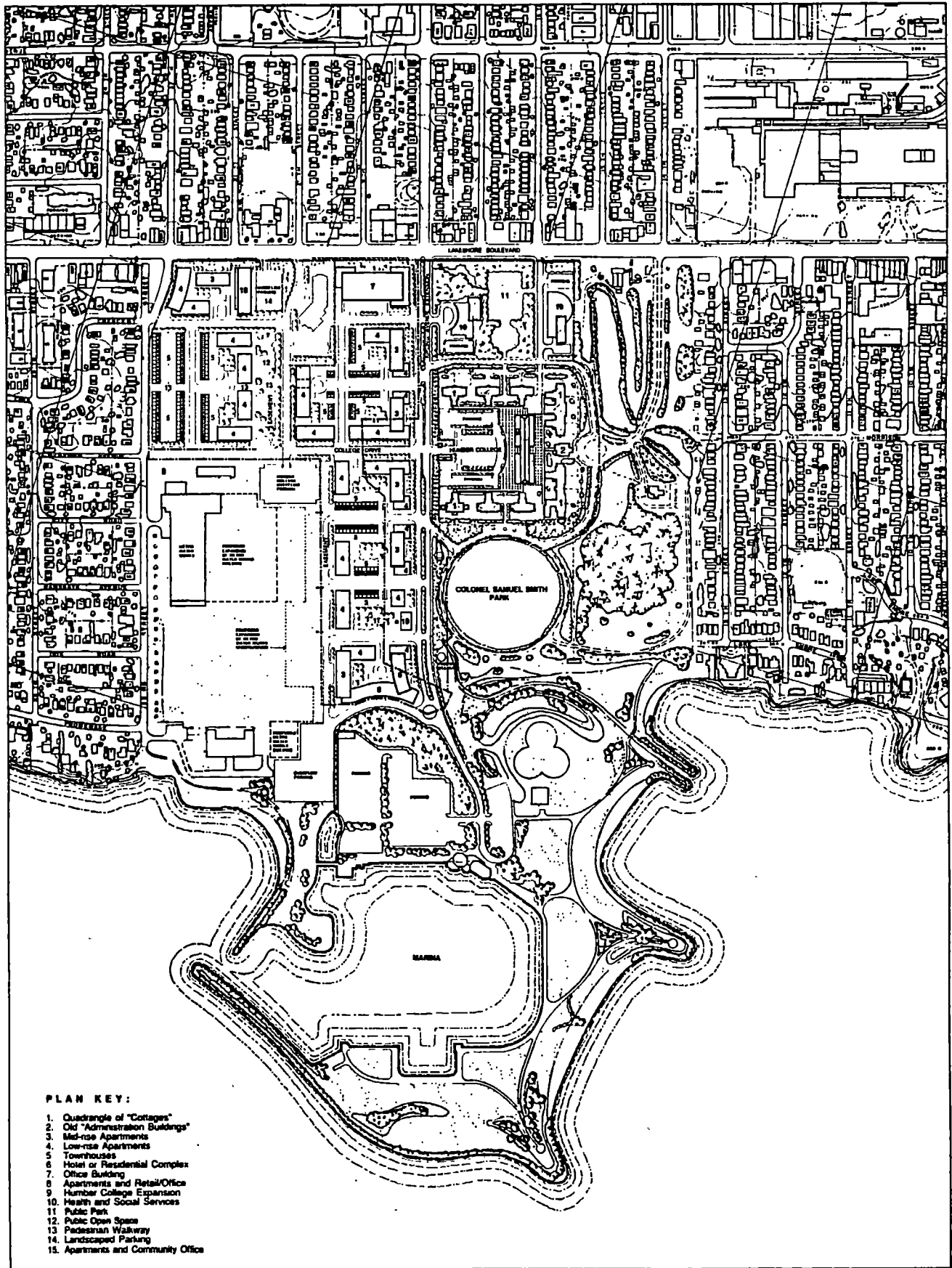
I might begin by simply repeating some important lessons, which were taught to many of us by Jane Jacobs. Ross Winter showed one of the site plans prepared by my firm for Ataratiri. It certainly represents what would seem to me to be the primary issue here, the design of the configuration of the ground plane:

- a) the relationship of public and private space,
- b) the relationship of building entrances to the parts of the system of movement on a site which constitute public space,
- c) relationship of feasibility between units and the system of public space, not to mention those areas in which play activity would proceed, and
- d) the role of the network of movement within a neighbourhood, both for pedestrian movement and those of vehicles.

It is one of my own social convictions about the use of public space that for our society, at this point in time, the presence of cars and pedestrians in reasonable proximity is an assurance of publicness of territory which makes me less enthusiastic about schemes for radical pedestrianisation or segregation than many other planners and social critics. I would say this spans across the socio-economic spectrum as far as I can see it. However, the hoary debate about the car falls out, I don't think that there should be any disagreement about the fundamental importance of that network of public space, most of which will rely on the ground plane as the fundamental armature of community design. And out of that then will fall in a reasonable way, it seems to me, all those concerns having to do with what is public space and what is private space. A sense of security, a sense of identity and a sense of association for residents will fall out of that public space design.

We tried to make those kinds of characteristics central to our scheme for Ataratiri, just as we did for the project for Etobicoke-Lakeshore. The project was prepared for a joint client, the Ministry of Government Services (acting on behalf of the Ontario Ministry of Housing) and Humber College, who were the owners of the two adjacent parcels of land. The site for the project is close to Lake Ontario, separated from the waterfront by a landfill site which has since become a Conservation Authority park. The site consists of the former grounds of Lakeshore Psychiatric Hospital, which was closed some years ago and lands to the west which were agricultural land used by the hospital before passing into the hands of Humber College. The college used a small portion of them for one of their campuses.

We proposed a range of three schemes, but for the purpose of this discussion the distinctions between them are not germane. The recommended scheme has about 2,000 housing units on this site.(Figure 7-9) It incorporates a variety of building forms, which can be flexible in respect to a possible range of socio-economic mixes and forms of tenure for the different units which would be provided. One of the reasons that I decided that the detailed presentation would probably be less relevant to the general thrust of the discussion today was that most of our work was directed to meeting a target for housing in terms of quantity in ways which respected residents' concerns about the historic hospital grounds. The grounds were perceived by many local people as "park" even though only a portion of them legally fulfilled that definition.



CONCEPT C,

THE LAKESHORE NEIGHBOURHOOD

FIGURE 7-9

Integrating a residential complex with South Etobicoke is difficult. We are far enough away from St. Lawrence and Ataratiri that a significant proportion of mid-rise apartment buildings (typically in the range of 8 storeys) will still be perceived by residents in adjoining neighbourhoods as constituting much higher density than that to which they have been accustomed. There was a considerable effort on our part to develop site planning strategies which would meet a density of about 2,000 units on that site, whilst respecting these concerns of local residents. We wanted to secure, to the maximum extent possible, their acquiescence, if not their support, for the implementation of the project.

The last characteristic point of Etobicoke-Lakeshore which may be significant here, was what we thought to be an ingenious proposal to rehouse Humber College to the quadrangle of buildings which had formed the historic psychiatric hospital. Previous studies on the conversion of those buildings into housing demonstrated economic difficulties, given the particular forms of the envelopes of the historic structures. Humber was interested in the idea that they would relocate from a former 1950's high school into the historic buildings of the quadrangle of the psychiatric hospital as a new campus. Their existing campus would then be available for an extension of the residential neighbourhood which was being contemplated. A complicated shift of parcels of land between our co-clients formed a part of our proposal.

In our proposal for Etobicoke-Lakeshore and Ataratiri we structured a clear and simply comprehensible network of circulation and public routes across the site to organize the ground plane in a maximally effective way. We respect fundamentally important urban conditions dealing with address, outlook, clear definitions of public and private space and "eyes on the street" as Jane Jacobs would say. Those characteristics still mark what I regard as desirable urbanity in neighbourhood terms, according to my own relatively conservative view of merits of urban form.

Regent Park, which was mentioned earlier, does not meet those criteria. Ross Winter has already pointed out other proposals that might improve both St. James Town and Regent Park by making them denser. I am inclined to agree, although I do not think that density is the main issue. The reason that the improvement would occur by densification is because nobody in their right mind is going to propose to reduce the bulk of the existing buildings by the same proportion as the new construction which would fix the ground plane. This suggests that absolute density is fairly elusive and variable issue in respect to amenity. The reason that the in-fill buildings would help would be precisely because they would restructure the ground plane and begin to reinstitute characteristics of social discourse, relationships of facing distances, patterns of movement and, clearer distinction of public and private spaces. Those characteristics are absolutely fundamental to amenable urban form. They contribute to the success of St. Lawrence and one hopes they will contribute to the success of Ataratiri and the Etobicoke-Lakeshore schemes which we proposed.

So, I want to end my remarks with a plea for the intermediate legitimacy of architectural intervention. It is certainly true that architecture learned to its bitter regret in the '50s and '60s that it could not do all the things that it thought it could. On the other hand, it seems to me that it can, in a practical way, boost the provision of the housing stock. I lean to relatively conservative building forms because I would rather innovate at the level of the ground than innovate in terms of the building configurations simply for practical reasons having to do with not spending money unnecessarily on innovation which could be spent instead on more units or a higher level amenity for the dwelling units. I do not think it would come as a surprise to anybody who is involved in the actual provision of housing to hear me say that I do not think architectural innovation is going to enable one to significantly increase the amount of housing stock. That financial and political situation is largely beyond the power of architects. They can lobby as citizens for modifications to financial allocations, such as was suggested at the end of the previous session. Architectural design can make most astute social configuration out of that funded housing.

Finally, I want to come to the question of self esteem. I have learned that architectural determinism does not work. I would also argue that architectural intervention ought realistically to be confined to the relatively narrow territory in which it can have practical and useful results in community building. However, I also believe that one of its possibilities is to contribute to a sense of pride and satisfaction in a community on the part of its residents. John Sewell, while he was still Chair of MTHA, asked our office to look at upgrading a lobby in one of the MTHA buildings which reportedly was one of the more problematic ones in their portfolio. The ambition is to normalize in the lobby so that the residents would think of themselves as apartment dwellers living on a certain street in Toronto, rather than as people in an MTHA building because their other options were precluded.

In that regard, it was really exhilarating for me to hear the residents of St. Lawrence rise up this afternoon to answer Joe Springer because I did have a peripheral role in St. Lawrence 15 years ago. The configuration of streets, open spaces and points of view in St. Lawrence are judged to be significantly better than what the previous generation of planners did in Regent Park. It does contribute to a sense of community spirit in that place and in the neighbourhood. We fallible architects can at least say that if St. Lawrence residents are proud of their neighbourhood then architects at least managed to play an intelligent and effective role in helping to make them feel that way.

7.3

THE BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD

Paul Dowling:

Our third presenter in this panel is Ronji Borooah, a practising architect and planner. He has been involved in housing and urban development projects in Metro Toronto since 1974. Architectural projects he is been involved with include the David Archer Cooperative in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, the Pembroke Mews project for CityHome, leave as is Cityhome projects on Bathurst Quay and in Harbourfront and Market Square. Ronji has also been involved in many planning and urban design studies. Presently, he is the Director of the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood study for Jerome Markson Architects.

Ronji Borooah:

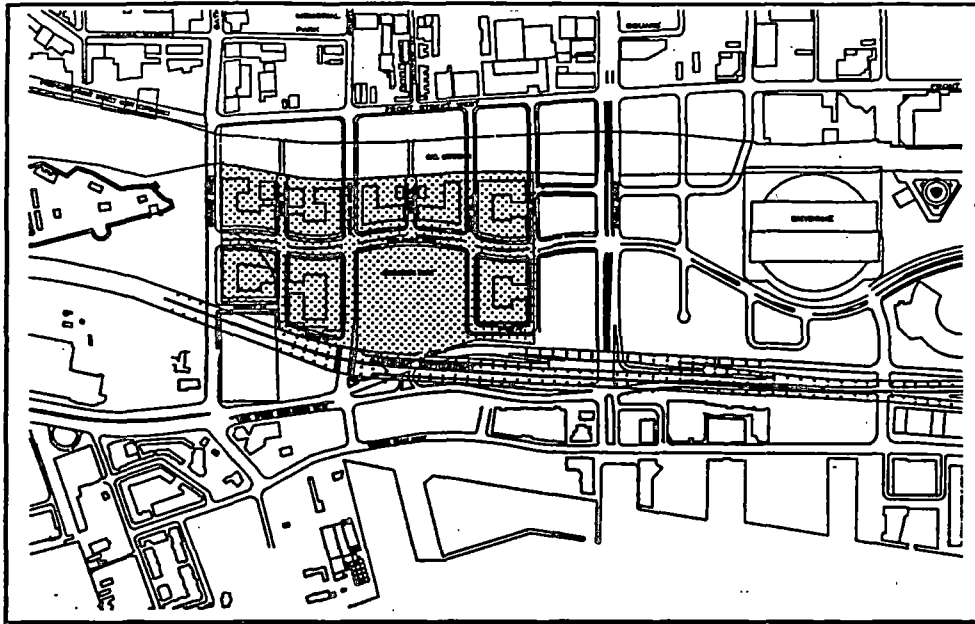
I am really happy to be here because we have taken two years to get to this point with the planning process for Bathurst-Spadina. I am also happy to see that Ross Winter has moved on from being the Coordinator for Bathurst-Spadina, which is only 3,000 units and 30 acres, to Ataratiri, which is twice the size. Finally, I would like to apologize for being yet another male up here, but at least I am not white.

To put the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood in the context of the Railway Lands, let me give you some figures about the Railway Lands itself; they are 200 acres of land stretching from Yonge Street to Bathurst; from Front Street at the top to Lake Shore Boulevard. The proposals for development include 14 million square feet of commercial development and about 9,000 units of housing. The site is divided into four main neighbourhoods and 14 planning precincts. Bathurst-Spadina is the western edge of the Railway Lands, comprising precincts 12 and 13. (Figure 7-10) It consists of about 34 acres and is planned for about 3,200 units of housing and about 200,000 square feet of commercial, street-related retail and community service facilities. Bathurst-Spadina is a joint development between the City of Toronto Housing Department and CN Real Estate.

In that area of the city in the early 19th century, the city had a much more direct and much more accessible relationship to the waterfront, with Front Street running along the water's edge. Even though it was a working waterfront, people had access to it. Train travel and the development of the rail system had cut off the city from the waterfront by the 1880's. Fort York was starting to get isolated by additional landfill. Now what we have is a big ditch with rail yards, train tracks and a lot of earth moved around from the stadium. In addition, to the south of this neighbourhood is the Gardiner Expressway that completely cuts off the site from the Harbourfront and the water. The neighbourhood is surrounded by barriers: to the north, the railroad tracks cut it off from the city.

The planning process indicated the need to integrate the Railway Lands with the lands to the north and Harbourfront to the south. This neighbourhood plays a crucial role in integrating that north-south connection. The planning process was similar to St. Lawrence and now Ataratiri with the formation of neighbourhood work groups, technical committees, surrogate groups and an extensive consultation process with municipal departments, school boards, library boards, provincial agencies and so on. One of the most exciting things for us during this process was a workshop that we had in May and June of 1989 with members of city staff, members of the neighbourhood work group and twelve invited professionals from the fields of planning, urban design, architecture and landscape architecture. They were given very strict terms of reference on the issues that they were supposed to look at to help us develop a previous plan. But, being true to form, they threw them all out and proceeded to redesign the whole site. The result was an extensive series of discussions, exciting ideas and insights. The principles that finally formed the plan that we have now came about as a result of these workshops and the work with these departments.

BATHURST-SPADINA



ST. LAWRENCE

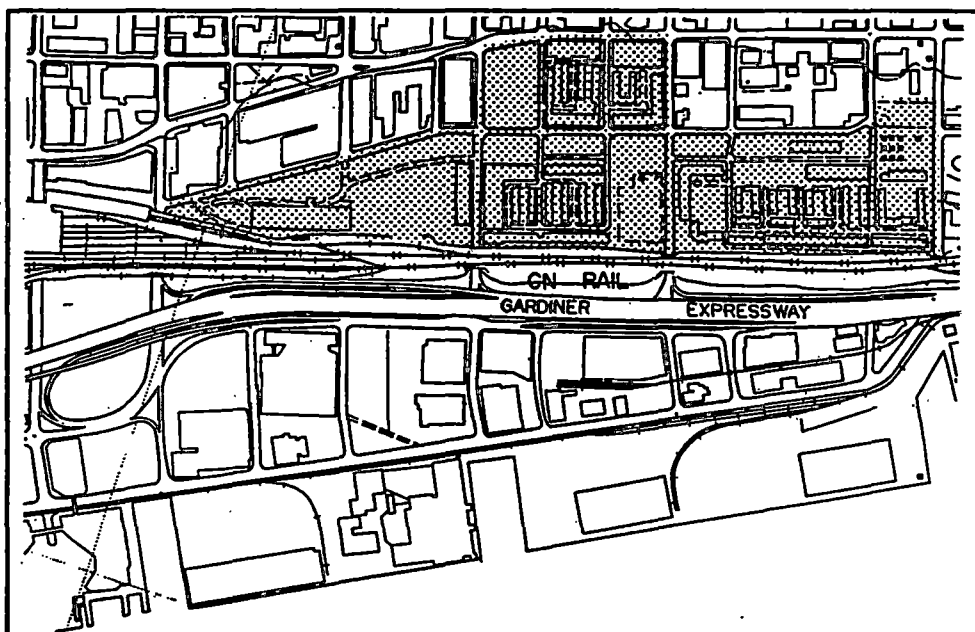


FIGURE 7-10 Comparison of Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence

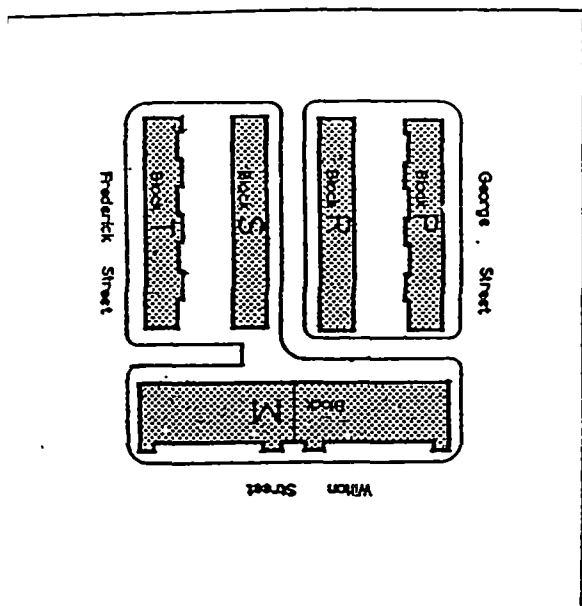
Some ideas that came about were to create a relationship to the Gardiner that did not form a barrier and to use open space and other environmental factors to mitigate the impact of the Gardiner rather than using barrier buildings. They also proposed to create large development blocks to allow for flexibility of development options, and placing highrise buildings to the north of development parcels.

The Esplanade, as we propose it, is a curving, gracious street that will be the main promenade of this neighbourhood, at the northern edge of a seven-acre community park. The principles which we followed in devising this neighbourhood plan suggested a system of alternating major and minor north-south streets. Bathurst would be a major street; the next street would be a minor street, Portland would be a major street connecting the city from Queen Street through the neighbourhood to Harbourfront. A major street, could be Brandt Street, which exists north of our site which could be extended down, followed by another minor street and then Spadina.

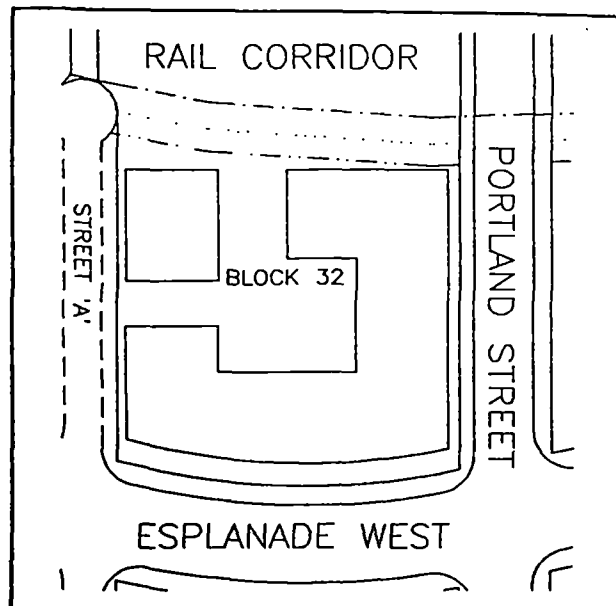
The major streets from the main public space of the neighbourhood. We also see streets as the main container and definer of public life and the area where the neighbourhood meets the rest of the city. These major streets, would have shops, cafes, restaurants, apartment lobby entrances, social service facilities, health clinics, libraries, and so on. The Esplanade will be the major promenade through the site, with very wide sidewalks (12 to 18 metres). In our sun studies we have seen that the Esplanade, especially in the north side, gets sun throughout most of the year. The minor streets would then be less formal and purely residential, with lowrise buildings. They would be much more local in character. We defined the major streets with street wall buildings of a certain height. We propose more formal controls for those buildings to allow them to control and define the space. We put the towers to the north end of each development parcel, and on the north side, shadows would be cast on the rail corridor.

The parcels are large enough that we can look at a range of development options. We are also looking at the possibility of more than one housing producer sharing a site. For example you could have up to 4 or 5 developers on a site. The 3,200 housing units are split between CN Real Estate and the City of Toronto Housing Department, which is acting on behalf of non-profit producers on this site. The assisted housing component has a density bonus of about 25%. Two thousand units would be split between non-profit co-operatives, municipal and non-profit producers, and special needs groups. There are about 1,200 units of condominiums proposed now. The Official Plan asks for 25% family housing. We proposed between 50% and 60% of the units at 2 bedrooms or more.

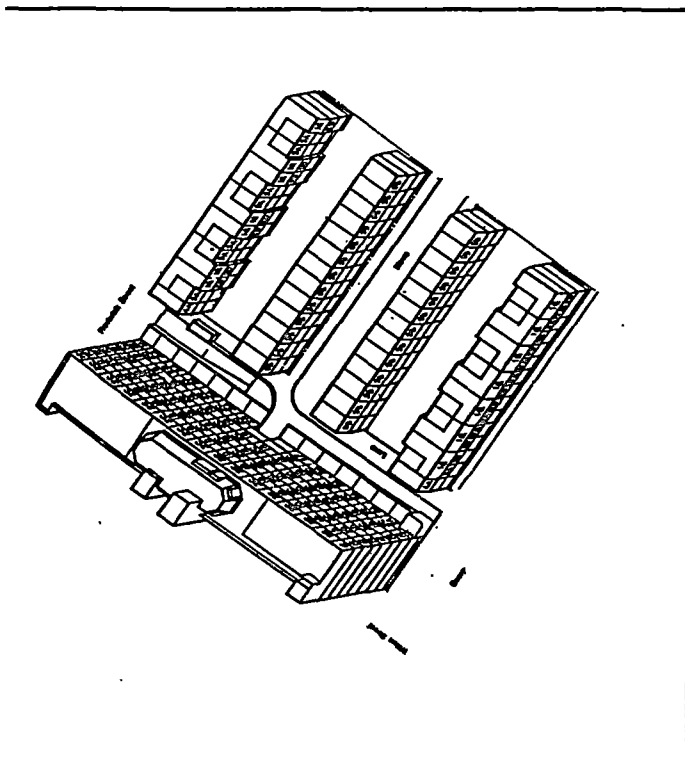
When we looked at the site, we examined some precedents that we could use. We can find a range of smaller and lowrise buildings in Toronto. The city has not had a history of successful high density redevelopment schemes, until St. Lawrence came along. (Figure 7-11) Toronto also does not have many precedents of more than one builder or more than one producer sharing a building parcel. We have a good stock of lowrise buildings that contain the streets. They respect the tradition of the street pattern and the pattern of blocks. Even the higher buildings in the 1960's seem to respect the street, contain the street and give it an urban quality. Urban development at a higher density in the 50's and 60's such as St. James Town, Regent Park, or even Yonge/Davisville, created alienating environments. It really was not until we came to St. Lawrence that we came back to re-establishing the legitimacy of the street grid, the urban fabric and the need to make the urban realm have a greater role to play in the design and shape of buildings. That lesson was significant for both architects and planners. David Archer co-op is my connection with St. Lawrence; I was a lot younger than and I had a lot more hair, but the lessons that we learned from St. Lawrence are significant in our office. At Market Square, on Front at Church, we did try to contain the street, complete the street on the north side, reflect the rhythm of the facades on the south side and catch some of the expression lines and eaves lines of the important Gooderham Building.



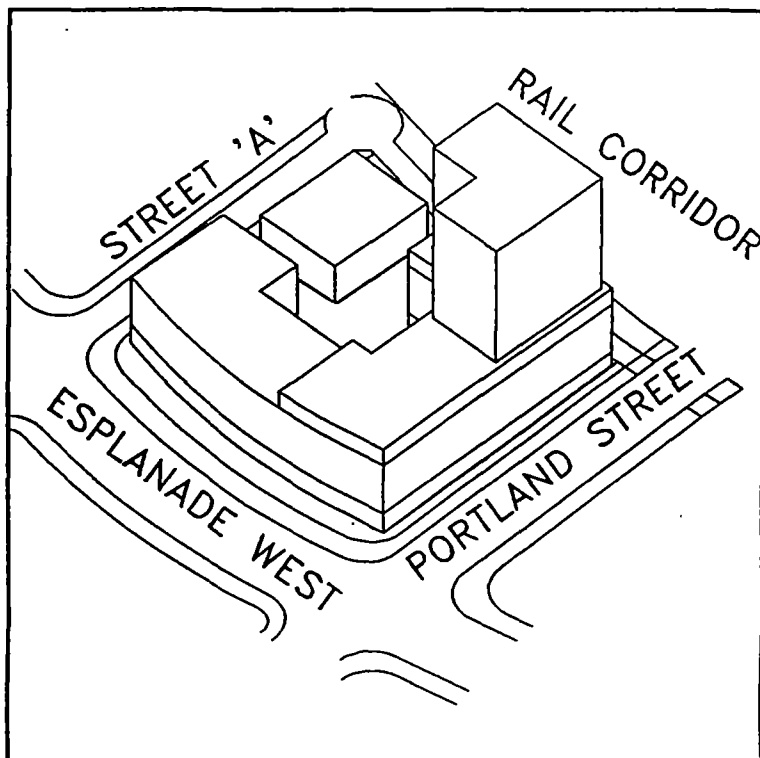
Lawrence Neighbourhood: Woodsworth Co-op As-Built Building Footprint



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Footprint



Lawrence Neighbourhood: Woodsworth Co-op As-Built Axonometric



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Envelope Axonometric

Note: Drawings are approximately at the same scale.

FIGURE 7-11 Comparison of Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence Phase "A" blocks

Source: Jerome Markson Architects

In New York, they have density, and bulk, but they have scale as well, which makes the city much more pleasurable. Density can create an urban quality that is attractive. Buildings can have a base, a middle and a top, articulation of corners and continuing certain features from one building to another. These ideas can be used at any density. Highrise buildings could have interesting tops, such as the Beresford in West Central Park, or the Majestic, on Central Park. These examples were used quite successfully in Battery Park City, to create successful buildings parcels with two developers and two buildings which continue certain items like a base, an expression line a similar height limit, and materials. Even though they are different, they are compatible in the way that the buildings turn corners and so on.

The examples which would be most similar to what we are trying to do in the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood would be the wonderful stock of industrial buildings we have along Richmond, Adelaide and King Streets in the area around Spadina. They exhibit a similar street wall characteristic and a relationship to each other at a consistent height and expression that create a very urban quality.

We think that we have been able to handle the density successfully enough to create a midrise condition in most instances and along most of the major streets. When you have a density of 4.5x net F.S.I. (Table 7-1), I think that is a pretty successful thing to be able to do. We hope that the planning process will now look at all the other issues that we talked about earlier today, such as social services and facilities, income mix, unit mix, demographics, tenure, etc. (See Appendix C for further information) Our work is to create the physical fabric within which these activities can happen and a new neighbourhood can emerge.

TABLE 7-1: Summary of Comparison: Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence Neighbourhoods

CHARACTERISTIC	BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD			ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD		
Distribution of land uses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10% less net residential land 	Parks	3.4 ha	25%	Parks	4.1 ha	18%
	Streets	3.8 ha	28%	Streets	5.6 ha	25%
	Net Res.	6.3 ha	47%	Net Res.	13.1 ha	57%
	Total	13.5 ha	100%	Total	22.8 ha	100%
Dedicated and Non-dedicated Public Space <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10% more dedicated public space • 16% more dedicated and non-dedicated public space 	Area % of Total Site <u>Public, dedicated</u> Parks 3.4 ha 25% Streets 3.8 ha 28% SUBTOTAL 7.2 ha 53% <u>Public & Semi-public, non-dedicated</u> Setbacks Primary Streets .7 ha 5% TOTAL 7.9 ha 59%			Area % of Total Site <u>Public, dedicated</u> Parks 4.1 ha 18% Streets 5.6 ha 25% SUBTOTAL 9.7 ha 43% <u>Public & Semi-public, non-dedicated</u> Setbacks Primary Streets n/a TOTAL 9.7 ha 43%		
Unit Mix and Average Unit Size <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • average unit size 5% greater for assisted housing; 6% more units smaller for market housing 	<u>Assisted Housing</u> Bachelors 5% 45% One Bedroom 40% Two Bedroom 40% 55% Two + Bedroom 15% Average Gross Unit Size = 89 m ²			<u>Assisted Housing</u> Bachelors 10% 55% One Bedroom 45% Two Bedroom 32% 45% Two + Bedroom 13% Average Gross Unit Size = 84 m ²		
	<u>Market Housing</u> Bachelors 5% 45% One Bedroom 40% Two Bedroom 50% 55% Two + Bedroom 5% Average Gross Unit Size = 100 m ²			<u>Market Housing</u> Bachelors 22% 65% One Bedroom 43% Two Bedroom 28% 35% Two + Bedroom 7% Average Gross Unit Size = 107 m ²		
Total Units <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • similar assisted and market housing proportion 	Total Units	3155		Total Units	4295	
	Assisted Units	1935	61%	Assisted Units	2672	62%
	Market Units	1220	39%	Market Units	1623	38%

Summary of Comparison: Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence Neighbourhoods

CHARACTERISTIC	BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD			ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD		
Residential Density		UPH/UPA	FSI		UPH/UPA	FSI
• gross residential density 5% greater	Gross	234 uph 95 upa	2.43 x	Gross	189 uph 76 upa	2.32 x
• net residential density 29% greater	Net	500 uph 202 upa	5.21 x	Net	329 uph 133 upa	4.05 x
Retail and Community Services and Facilities	Total non-residential space	3.4 ha	.44x	Total non-residential space	12.9 ha	.12x
• proportionately greater amount of non-residential space allocated to retail and community services	Retail	1.8 ha		Retail	1.8 ha	
	Community service	1.6 ha		Community services	0.8 ha	
	Office	0		Office	2.7 ha	
	Other	0		Other	7.6 ha	
Building Types	4 storey low-rise apartments			2 to 3 storey townhouses		
	6 storey low-rise apartments			7 to 11 storey mid-rise streetwall apartments		
	7 to 9 storey mid-rise streetwall apartments			6 - 12 storey perimeter block apartments		
	16 and 23 storey hi-rise apartments			30 storey hi-rise apartment		

7.4

GENERAL DISCUSSION: LEARNING FROM ST. LAWRENCE

John Hitchcock:

Could Ronji talk about the kind of activities, use of community facilities and so on. Looking at the computer slides, even though I know it has to be dense, it looks a bit heavy handed to me as an "off the top" reaction. Perhaps you can help us think about this kind of level of density. How will people use it? Where will there be schools? Will they be in buildings? Will there be drug stores where people just go down to the lobby of their building and be able to do some shopping? What does the place feel like? Can you give us any sort of sense of what you may be thinking about that?

Ronji Borooah:

It is hard to cover the ideas for all the neighbourhood in twenty minutes. We think of The Esplanade as being one of the primary streets that will carry a lot of public activity, a lot of public life, including shops, restaurants, community facilities, apartment lobbies etc. Bathurst Street would be another major retail street which would have neighbourhood shopping. By the way, we think of these stores as being shops that would serve this neighbourhood and Harbourfront, not a whole bunch of fast food restaurants that will serve the Domed Stadium. That is why we are trying to emphasize the east-west links to break off at Spadina.

We are trying to identify certain areas in the neighbourhood where we think community and social services would go. We see Portland as the street that will be the link for Harbourfront and Bathurst-Spadina and also the street that will contain most of the social services and facilities. Portland and the Esplanade will be a major intersection in the heart of the neighbourhood and that is why we are looking at a library facility, an inter-denominational house of worship, health clinics and so on along Portland. We are examining the possibility of a community centre and a school in the park. We are also looking at the possibility of day-care centres connected to the park. The City of Toronto Planning Department has done an inventory of needs for community services and facilities for an area which extends beyond Harbourfront and Railway Lands. They are identifying a list of facilities that we have to provide in the Railway Lands to serve either our needs or the needs of surrounding areas. That study is important to both us and the City of Toronto Housing Department because we are trying to phase in facilities and have the funding ready for these facilities as the neighbourhood starts developing, so that we do not have the same problems as St. Lawrence has.

Val Rynnimeri:

I sympathize with George's attitude on the street as a repository for an urban life. I grew up in downtown Toronto so I do not have a weepy attitude about the street. It is just part of my common existence. It is the only real urban environment that I know. I remember as a teenager going out to the suburbs and being very impressed by them because there was a feeling of spaciousness, openness and a kind of healthful sanity about the parks. If we give everything over to this kind of fetishism about the street then we might be throwing out the baby with the bath water.

I can make a couple of comments about St. Lawrence. One of the best comments about the architecture of St. Lawrence was the one made by Paul Reuber earlier. He was quite blunt about it. It is not very good architecture. It is not very pretty. Quite frankly, I think it is mediocre, and that would be a kind comment. Steven Fong showed us very evocative slides of passages through things. The slide on the right always seemed to be somehow architecturally more evocative than the slide on the left, which was St. Lawrence. I am very puzzled by that as well.

When you try to take the system that CMHC and MOH demand that a project go through, and try to apply street-centred architectural ideology to it, the whole system is starting to squeak a bit. Some of the streets with the townhouses, have raised decks and rears of townhouses over parking garages. They are treeless, lawnless streets, and there is no place to plant a tree because the cars pervade the environment. I have to be the kid in the story of the Emperor's New Clothes and say "something is not right here". If you are going to reintroduce the street back into a more urbane lexicon of planning, then I think you must be a bit more literal about it. I think we are going to have to take the street seriously for what it always was, not as an icon of social conviviality. I especially speak about that in terms of Ataratiri, because from what I saw in the last symposium on Ataratiri, it seemed to be hell-bent in that direction, especially in its selection of building types, and in its attempts to deal with the problem of parking, which is the big issue that seems to undermine St. Lawrence. A lot of the spaces in St. Lawrence are mean and measly compared with that run-of-the-mill generic fabric that you get throughout the rest of downtown Toronto.

Comment from the Floor:

Something that is a problem in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is access to Lakeshore and the Gardiner. Every single night between about 4 and 7 o'clock we have a line-up of vehicles along Jarvis Street backed up to Adelaide/Richmond Street, trying to get through from the downtown area. I wonder if that street heading south from Queen Street and going right through to Lakeshore in the Bathurst-Spadina would end up in that type of situation. Also, I wonder if any thought has been given to Neighbourhood those poor abandoned souls down at Bathurst Quay who are blocked from the city. There are shops along Harbourfront, but no grocery stores and no moderately priced variety stores. If you do not have a vehicle there, you must go out once a month, and bring back a huge hoard of food. Do you have some comment about it?

Ronji Borooah:

This gentleman has touched one of the most crucial questions we face, which is how to find links through our neighbourhood from the city up north to the water and connect Harbourfront back to the water while the Gardiner is still there. Portland Street is the only place where we can make new connections within our neighbourhood with Spadina and Bathurst already there. Portland looks like it is the main link, both in terms of vehicular traffic between these two neighbourhoods and pedestrian traffic. Our traffic numbers show that if you have Portland coming through to Lakeshore and going south to Queen's Quay, the kind of traffic will probably get directed onto Bathurst and Spadina simply because Portland Street is not like Jarvis Street - it has no Gardiner Ramps. It stops at Queen Street, it does not go all the way to Bloor Street and collect traffic all the way down.

As far as Bathurst Quay residents are concerned, that has been one of the ways we have been trying to see if we can solve the problem. They are still isolated and alienated from the surrounding neighbourhood, similar to what St. Lawrence was when it first got built, except that Bathurst Quay has a bigger problem right now. It is on the other side of the Gardiner and on the other side of Bathurst. We look at Bathurst and Portland as the main shopping streets where you would have the kind of neighbourhood shopping that would satisfy the needs of these residents, and Harbourfront and its shopping would remain as the kind of regional attraction which serves the people who come to York Quay from across the metropolitan area.

George Baird:

The question has reminded me that back in the days when I was an advisor to St. Lawrence, one of the proposals which I made in an informal way to the planning group was the creation of another railway viaduct on Church through the rail corridor to Lakeshore. I understand that Michael Dennis thought this was a thoroughly bad idea. I do not know whether it was simply a question of capital costs and the kind of complexity of approvals that would have been involved in such a proposition which no doubt would have been formidable. It might have been an idea which could have taken some of the pressure off Jarvis and Sherbourne within St. Lawrence.

On the street fetish that Val Rynnimeri mentioned, I think I am certainly more convinced by the historical model of the street than he is, but I would concede that there is a risk of pushing historical models beyond the breaking point, in a relentless desire to stick with them. In that regard I would concur that some of the lower density forms in St. Lawrence are probably a bit tight.

One of the challenges of the on-going development of Ataratiri is to ensure that the provision of parking not be permitted to render the pattern of public space within the neighbourhood into one which is too austere. The ability to sustain a normal pattern of street tree planting is important. One of the great improvements in Toronto in the past twenty years, it seems to me, has been the street tree planting program on existing streets. We now expect a form of generic fit by sticking to the street, come what may. It could point in the direction of a model pushed beyond its workable limits, which I think lies behind Rynnimeri's criticisms. While I still believe in the street, I think one has to be realistic about the ways in which it can feasibly be renovated for future purposes.



8. LOOKING FORWARD: THE EVOLUTION OF A COMMUNITY

8. LOOKING FORWARD - THE EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY

David Gordon:

I would like to relate a tale from ten years ago. During the official opening of St. Lawrence, I took a walking tour led by Mayor John Sewell. I found myself strolling behind a developer, a politician and a newspaper columnist (who shall remain nameless) who spent their time quietly attacking the project. When I told them I was thinking of moving in, they turned and really gave me a tirade. One comment stands out in my memory: "In ten years this will be a slum. The planners do not have a clue what they are doing." With the benefit of hindsight, it appears that they were wrong, and the planners were right.

For those of you listening to similar comments today, as you bring your new urban neighbourhoods to life, please take heart. If we all do our work with passion and skill and understanding, and we learn from St. Lawrence, you will have the pleasure of being proven right in the future as well.

I invite Dan Burns to come up and close the conference.

Dan Burns, Speaker:

One of the briefest and most effective introductions I have ever had.

Two days in a room, thinking and listening and talking is a long time. I will touch on two general subjects, the thinking about St. Lawrence and its contribution in regional terms. I will also present four specific themes which have run through the conference. They will help us think about building the next generation of new communities in urban Toronto.

Yesterday, when the conversation was about the origins of St. Lawrence, I think that one important part was missed. For those of you who were active in the early and mid 70s, you may remember the character of the debate of that time. There was a ferocious debate in Toronto about whether or not people actually wanted to live downtown. If you built dense housing downtown, would anyone opt to buy it, or rent it? The development industry, in opposing the city's Central Area Plan proposals of 1976, spent at least as much time attacking that proposition as they did attacking the proposition that the city could get by with less commercial office density than they had in the past. St. Lawrence was not just intended to be a great new experiment in urban design or an answer to difficult housing problems that some people faced in Toronto. It was also intended to answer the criticism that people did not want to live in downtown Toronto, to demonstrate that people would live in Toronto, that they would buy in Toronto and that they would rent in Toronto.

St. Lawrence is a precedent for another important debate taking place right now in the Toronto region. The GTA, depending on what you include in it, is 3.5 or 3.7 million people. It is running to the limits of the infrastructure that we built in the 60s and 70s. There is a lot of talk now about how we are going to get from 3.5 million to, say, 5 million. How do we get from now to 2010? A great part of the debate is whether or not the next round of urban development should be very different from what has taken place in the last twenty years, not just in the city but in North York, in Etobicoke, in Mississauga, in Markham and even Vaughan.

St. Lawrence is an important precedent for that debate, not just an important precedent for thinking about the next generation of communities in Toronto itself. As someone who happens to think that the population of Metro Toronto should rise strongly, and as someone who thinks that the suburban areas around Toronto should be developed in a much denser way in the next round, I believe that many people will come to St. Lawrence to look and think and see what can be applied to another generation of urban development all through the region. They will ask same question mentioned before: Are people prepared to live there? Do people enjoy living in this type of urban form? You heard today from people who live in St. Lawrence and the people who built it. We can do these things well. So I think St. Lawrence has something to offer to another very important part of the development of the city. It adds precedents for renewal and development in the suburbs.

Here are four themes that are in my mind almost everyday: first green, green, green, green; second, money, money, money, money, money; third, design, design, design, design; and fourth, community building, community building, community building, community building.

The first theme is **green**. When St. Lawrence was done, an environmental study and some research were undertaken. The report recommended that some remediation work be done on the site to deal with one main problem, methane gas coming from old dumps. A little bit of soil was removed. In the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood, the entire process of study and remediation cost less than a million dollars. I have heard it valued at half a million dollars. In Ataratiri next door, we have already spent between \$3 and \$4 million establishing a database. We are examining the options we have to rectify, the conditions that we find there to make it the kind of residential community that today's conditions require. The answer to environmental questions in Ataratiri today will be tens of millions, not hundreds of thousands of dollars.

We are not alone in this. My conversations with people in Montreal and Vancouver, with people who are looking at the next round of urban development in other cities in North America and Western Europe, indicate that tremendous attention is being paid to environmental conditions and remediation. Enormous sums of money are being spent in a way that they were not spent, even ten years ago.

The second theme is **money**. The City was in the business of urban renewal, and in some ways, St. Lawrence is urban renewal in its 70s form. Urban renewal was expected to cost a lot of money that you do not recover. Certainly that was true in Regent Park, in Moss Park, Trefann Court and in Alexandra Park. They all were a sea of red ink. The Federal Government effectively paid the cheques for the deficits. When we got to the seventies, it was a little harder to do this, but the federal government would still finance the land acquisition and the servicing through low-interest or moderate-cost loans. The price remained fixed through the term of development. At the end of the day, St. Lawrence and Frankel Lambert turned a surplus, as land development activities. The fact that there were federal subsidies in the land development site made a big difference.

Now, in the 90s, we face a federal and, to some degree a provincial government who are not quite so keen on subsidizing publicly sponsored renewal. Ataratiri and other big publicly sponsored redevelopments are going to operate in an even tougher financial environment. We have the one thing we absolutely need to finance Ataratiri, which is the signature of the Treasurer of Ontario. The on-going financing is entirely at market rates, at least so far. Perhaps we can find a way to mitigate that, but we are operating with market-based financing. We are attempting to accomplish this renewal in a way where the financing is costing us more.

Frank Lewinberg made a simple and valid observation about public redevelopment in his remarks yesterday. He said, if the public sector is doing it, everybody wants everything. That is absolutely true and it is a good thing. In every generation of financing this stuff, you come up against the tough decisions at some point between the limits of your financing and the ambitions of the community to have as much as possible in place on Day One. In Ataratiri, financing is more difficult, we are spending more money on the environment and we have great expectations on the part of the community about what can be accomplished in new communities.

Design, design, design. Well, I think St. Lawrence is a tremendous step in the right direction when compared to Regent Park and Moss Park, but it was not a completely radical break. People will remember that in the Trefann Court and Alexandra Park urban renewal areas, complete demolition of the neighbourhood was abandoned and replaced with a much more fine-grained renewal strategy. Alexandra Park contains a co-op. Trefann Court contains the very first private non-profit in Toronto in the current generation. They built on thinking that was already changing, but maybe it did not go far enough. Most of the blocks in St. Lawrence have one developer, one owner, and some of the buildings are quite large. CityHome has one block with one development over 300 units. The size creates problems on the community building site and problems on the operation side.

We may take another step along the road that was begun in Alexandra Park and Trefann Court and try to break the blocks down even further in new neighbourhoods. The big blocks which you saw Ronji describing may not have one developer on them. Perhaps they should have 3 or 4 or 5, even when the built form presents a continuous street wall. Perhaps this should be several addresses, several operations, and a much more fine grained pattern of ownership and occupancy than was accomplished in St. Lawrence. That is all that I will say about design, because you have heard from a lot of people who know a great deal more about good urban design or architecture. I wanted to add that one point because we can learn from St. Lawrence, but next time we will do that particular thing somewhat differently.

Community building is the final theme I want to touch on, looking at the next generation of big neighbourhoods that we have been trying to create in the city. One of the great successes of St. Lawrence was the speed at which community institutions came into being. At the beginning stages of St. Lawrence, a lot of the developments were co-operatives or condominiums. There are organizations that require a level of community from the very beginning. People have to work together simply to manage the housing that those two types represent. When we look at the beginning of the next neighbourhoods, there will be an emphasis on our part on co-operative and condominium developments in the early days. They contribute to establishing a strong sense of community and community organization at the very beginning of a new neighbourhood.

On the other hand, there were some community building problems in St. Lawrence. The physical infrastructure for social institutions, the daycare centre, the schools, the library, were delayed. Every one of those was a real struggle for financing. Every one of them came later than our ambitions when we started. We are going to try very hard in the communities you saw here this afternoon to find ways to have those come earlier in the redevelopment process. Other people with similar projects in Etobicoke, or Downsview, must also look at this issue.

In conclusion, I want to leave you with a thought that while a great deal was learned from St. Lawrence, the Neighbourhood remains a great piece of urban design and community building. When we do the next neighbourhoods we are going to push again in all of those realms: the environment, financing, design and community building.

Michell Kosny:

First, if you were challenged, pushed, angered, hurt, or pleased by what you take away from this conference, then I think it was worth the price of time and commitment to be here. Secondly, if you got to meet someone who you did not know, then I think it was worth the time as well.

The final pleasure for me is that on behalf of Ryerson, the City and the other sponsors, I would like to pay thanks to the people who made the whole event possible.



CONTRIBUTORS

CONTRIBUTORS

George Baird is a principal of Baird/Sampson Architects and a Professor of Architecture at the University of Toronto. His firm was an advisor to the St. Lawrence Block Study and recently prepared a development plan for the Lakeshore Hospital/Humber College lands in the City of Etobicoke for the Ontario Ministry of Government of Services.

Paul Bedford is Director, Community and Neighbourhoods Division, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

Ronji Borooah is a principal of Jerome Markson Architects, where he was involved in the design of the David B. Archer Co-operative in St. Lawrence. He is currently directing the design of the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood in the Railway Lands for the City of Toronto Housing Department.

Dan Burns is Commissioner, City of Toronto Housing Department. He was formerly Director of the Central Core and Waterfront Planning Division and the Community and Neighbourhoods Division, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

Robert Crow is Professor and served as Acting Chair of the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson in 1989. He acts as advisor to a number of community groups.

Joe D'Abramo is a Senior Planner in the Central Core and Waterfront Planning Division, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. He has served as a director of a housing co-operative and Central Neighbourhood House. Joe was the area planner for St. Lawrence for several years during its initial occupancy.

Ken Dobb is a long time St. Lawrence resident, who has served as president of his housing co-operative and the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Association. He is actively involved in a wide variety of community issues, including serving as chair of the Metro Waterfront Coalition and vice-chair of the Gardiner-Lakeshore Task Force.

Paul Dowling was Manager of Housing Development Policy for the Ontario Ministry of Housing. He was actively involved in the early discussions of the Ataratiri project.

Noreen Dunphy is a well known co-operative housing activist. She has been a staff member of the Co-operative Housing Association of Ontario and the Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto, where she was project manager for Woodworth Co-op in St. Lawrence. Noreen served as a member of the St. Lawrence Working Committee for several years during the planning of the neighbourhood.

Steven Fong is Associate Professor of Architecture and Chair of the Department of Architecture at the University of Toronto. He has recently directed two urban design studios on the Ataratiri site, and prepared the Ataratiri Building and Block Study in association with Michael Spaziani Architects.

David Gordon is Director of Planning and Development for the Kirkland Partnership and adjunct Associate Professor of Architecture at the University of Toronto. He is also a Lecturer in the School of Urban and Regional Planning, Ryerson. David was project manager of the Ataratiri Site Plan, prepared for the City of Toronto Housing Department. He has lived in St. Lawrence for six years.

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Pamela Hitchcock is Professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning and the Gerontology Program and is Coordinator of Seniors' Studies, Continuing Education Division at Ryerson. Pam administered the flawless execution of the Conference and motivated a small army of volunteers.

David Hulchanski is Associate Professor of Planning at the University of British Columbia, and Director of the Centre for Human Settlements at that time of the Conference. David prepared a comprehensive comparison of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and the False Creek Neighbourhood in Vancouver for CMHC. He will be joining the faculty of Social Work at the University of Toronto in January 1991.

Christopher Hume is the author of a widely-read column on art, architecture and design in the Toronto Star.

Mitchell Kosny is Professor and Chair of the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson. He is President of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and serves on the Planning Advisory Committee of the City of Toronto.

Michel Labbe is President of Lantana Non Profit Homes Corporation. He acts as planner and development consultant to a wide variety of housing projects. Michel lives in a housing co-operative in the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and has been active in community affairs.

Jack Layton is City of Toronto Councillor for Ward 6 which includes the St. Lawrence area. He is a former Professor of Political Science at Ryerson and now lectures at York University.

Barbara Lea is Manager of Planning and Resources for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in Toronto. She was involved in the development and funding of St. Lawrence for CMHC.

Frank Lewinberg is a principal in Berridge Lewinberg Greenberg planning consultants. While he was a member of the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, he identified the St. Lawrence site. Frank was involved in the planning of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Earl Miller is the Project Co-ordinator of the Task Force on Access to the Professions and Trades in the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship. He was formerly the manager of the Social Planning Group in the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. Earl was a member of the consulting team which prepared the St. Lawrence Social Services Study in 1975.

Frank Mills is the President of the Harbourfront Corporation, where he directed the development of several thousand non-profit and private housing units. He was staff co-ordinator for the development of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood at the City of Toronto Housing Department.

Robert Millward is Commissioner City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. He was Director of Planning at Cityhome during the planning and design phase of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Richard Peddie is the General Manager, Land Development, City of Toronto Housing Department, where he has overall responsibility for the development of Ataratiri, the Bathurst/Spadina Neighbourhood and the remaining land in St. Lawrence. He was responsible for implementation of the phase Block C of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood as Director of Development for Cityhome.

Allan Redway, P.C., M.P. is the Minister of State (Housing) for Canada. He is the former Mayor of the Borough of East York in Metropolitan Toronto. The Honourable Allan Redway is responsible for the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, which funded the assembly and initial phases of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Paul Reuber is the principal of his own architectural practice, which is located just outside the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. He was involved in the design of the first buildings in St. Lawrence and is currently the architect for the Berkeley Street Co-operative in the neighbourhood.

Chris Smith is President of Chris Smith and Associates, where he has been responsible for developing non-profit housing in St. Lawrence and many other locations. Chris was involved the early phases of St. Lawrence as a staff co-ordinator at Cityhome, and is currently a member of the Neighbourhood Advisory Committee for Ataratiri.

Ray Spaxman is a planning and urban design consultant, based in Vancouver, where he is also associated with the Centre for Human Settlements at UBC. Ray Spaxman was Commissioner of Planning for the City of Vancouver during the period when the False Creek Neighbourhood was developed. He was Deputy Commissioner of Planning for the City of Toronto prior to moving to Vancouver.

Joe Springer is a Professor in the School of Urban and Regional Planning at Ryerson. Prior to joining Ryerson, he had extensive planning experience in the public and private sectors in Canada, the United States and the West Indies. Joe is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the Ontario Housing Corporation.

Ross Winter is Manager of the Ataratiri project for the City of Toronto Housing Department. After several years in the private sector as an architect and land developer, he spent ten years as a housing project manager with Cityhome and the City of Toronto Housing Department. Ross was involved with six projects in Phase B of the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.



APPENDIX A: St. Lawrence Bibliography

Appendix A

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APPENDIX B: St. Lawrence: A Profile in Planning Statistics

APPENDIX B

ST. LAWRENCE: A PROFILE IN PLANNING STATISTICS

Prepared by David Gordon, with assistance from G. Tassone and G. Hurst

1. Introduction

St Lawrence is frequently described as a 44 acre, family oriented neighbourhood, with a gross site density of about 1.5x coverage and net site density of about 2.5x coverage. All of these assumptions are incorrect, because they are based upon the preliminary objectives in the original 1974 report, rather than the final built form. The purpose of this paper is to present the most accurate information available.

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood is about 80% complete and there are now definitive development proposals for the remaining parcels. Original documents such as legal surveys and building permit files were the data source for the existing St. Lawrence parcels; the most recent development applications were used for the rest of the sites. The most recent data is shown in the Land Use Statistics spreadsheets.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the information in this report is as comparable as possible to standard planning practice. A glossary of terms used in this report is provided.

2. Housing Mix

St. Lawrence has a reputation as a family neighbourhood with a high proportion of large units. In fact, the final statistics for the area (Table A) indicate that large units (3 bedrooms +) make up only 11% of the housing stock, even though most of the grade level of Phase A and B is family oriented units. Bachelor and one bedroom units make up over half (59%) of St. Lawrence, following the trend to smaller market units and including a substantial seniors component in Phase C.

St. Lawrence will be about 62% assisted housing. The original 60% assisted target for the St. Lawrence has been exceeded due to a number of smaller unit projects in the final phases.

3. Land Use

The overall land use in the neighbourhood is shown in Table B. St. Lawrence has less than half of its site devoted to parks and public streets (42%), due to narrow local streets.

The St. Lawrence neighbourhood site is approximately 22.7 ha (56 acres). Its area is often reported as 44 acres, which excludes the streets.

4. Gross Density

Gross site density is best defined as the total building gross floor area divided by the total neighbourhood site. It includes all parks, open space, streets and lanes. The relationship between gross density and built form is highly influenced by the amount of parkland, width of street, etc.

The gross site density of St. Lawrence (2.3x), which is considerably higher than the 1.65x coverage estimated in the original 1974 report. The final site plan provided for a denser form of development, with an overall gross site density of 190 units per hectare (77 units per acre).

TABLE A

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT MIX

PHASE		BACHELORS	1-BDRM.	2-BDRM.	3-BDRM+
A	MARKET	9%	57%	33%	1%
	ASSISTED	15%	39%	30%	16%
	TOTAL	13%	46%	31%	10%
B	MARKET	1%	25%	45%	29%
	ASSISTED	11%	39%	36%	14%
	TOTAL	8%	35%	39%	18%
C	MARKET	42%	41%	15%	2%
	ASSISTED	2%	63%	28%	7%
	TOTAL	23%	51%	21%	5%
ALL PHASES	MARKET	22%	43%	28%	7%
	ASSISTED	10%	45%	32%	13%
	TOTAL	15%	44%	30%	11%

TABLE B

LAND USE AND GROSS SITE DENSITY IN ST. LAWRENCE				
	<u>Phase A</u>	<u>ST. LAWRENCE Phase B</u>	<u>Phase C</u>	<u>ST. LAWRENCE TOTAL</u>
Total Units	1,596	1,268	1,476	4,310
Total Floor Area	167,200	128,400	239,300	535,000 m ²
Net Site Area	4.97 ha	4.04 ha	4.02 ha	13.03 ha (57%)
Public Parks	1.07	1.70	0.12	2.89
Public Open Space	0	0.21	0.06	0.27
Other Open Space	<u>0.95</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.95</u>
Total Open Space	2.02 ha	1.91 ha	0.18 ha	4.11 ha (18%)
Public Lanes	0.05	0.23	0.09	0.37
Local Streets	1.86	1.79	0.26	3.91
Other Roads	<u>0.52</u>	<u>0.55</u>	<u>0.23</u>	<u>1.30</u>
Total Streets	2.43 ha	2.57 ha	0.58 ha	5.58 ha (24%)
Total Site Area	9.43 ha	8.52 ha	4.78 ha	22.73 ha (100%)
Gross Site Density (FSI)	1.77 x	1.51 x	5.01 x	2.35 x
Gross Site Density (UPH)	169	150	300	190 uph
Gross Site Density (UPA)	69	61	122	77 upa

5. Net Density

Net site density is defined as the total building gross floor area (GFA) of the site divided by the net site area. The dedicated public roads, lanes and parks are eliminated; net density is simply the total GFA divided by the total building site net area for the neighbourhood. It is perhaps the most useful density comparison of neighbourhoods for the purposes of examining built form.

TABLE C
Net Density of St. Lawrence

ST. LAWRENCE				
	<u>Phase A</u>	<u>Phase B</u>	<u>Phase C</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Total Units	1,596	1,278	1,436	4,310
Total Gross Floor Area (m ₂)	167,200	128,448	239,300	535,000
Net Site Area (m ₂)	49,700	40,350	40,200	130,300
Net Site Density (FSI)	3.36 x	3.18 x	5.95 x	4.11 x
Net Site Density (UPH)	321	316	357	331 uph
Net Density (UPA)	130	128	144	134 upa

The net floor space index in St. Lawrence is 4.1x coverage. It is interesting to note that actual net densities in St. Lawrence are considerably higher than the 2.5x average which is the commonly held understanding St. Lawrence, based upon the estimates in the original 1974 report. The net site density of 134 units per acre would be considered high density development in most communities. The medium rise, high density human scale of Phases A and B is achieved by rigorous reduction of meaningless semi-public open spaces and zero-lot line development.

ASSISTED HOUSING

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT MIX AND AVERAGE UNIT SIZES

PHASE	BACH.	1 BDRM.	2 BDRM.	2+ BDRM.	AVG. UNIT SIZE
A	15%	39%	30%	16%	75.7 M² / UNIT
B	11%	39%	36%	14%	91.8 M² / UNIT
C	2%	63%	28%	7%	89.3 M² / UNIT
TOTAL	10%	45%	32%	13%	84.6 M² / UNIT

MARKET HOUSING

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT MIX AND AVERAGE UNIT SIZES

PHASE	BACH.	1 BDRM.	2 BDRM.	2+ BDRM.	AVG. UNIT SIZE
A	9%	57%	33%	1%	109.9 M² / UNIT
B	1%	25%	45%	29%	120.7 M² / UNIT
C	42%	41%	15%	2%	97.5 M² / UNIT
TOTAL	22%	43%	28%	7%	106.7 M² / UNIT

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD TORONTO

Phase C

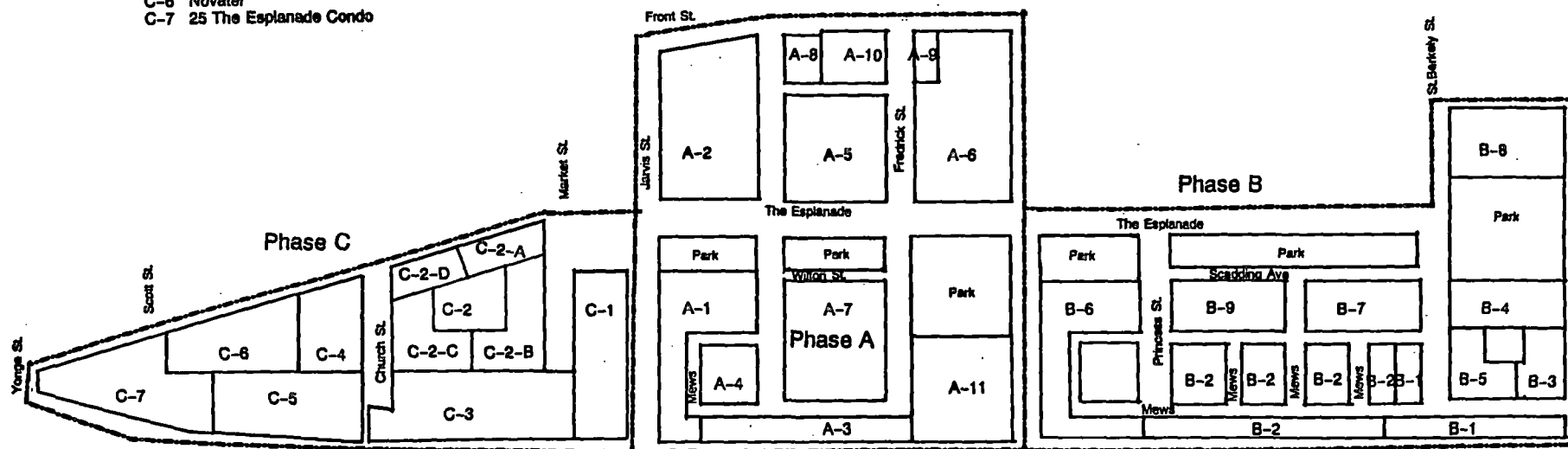
- C-1 Gross Machinery
- C-2 C-2
- C-3 Pat Garage
- C-4 Chen Development
- C-5 55 The Esplanade/P.A.T. Garage
- C-6 Novatel
- C-7 25 The Esplanade Condo

Phase A

- A-1 Crombie Park Apartments
- A-2 A2B Market Pkg Lot
- A-3 Cathedral Co-op
- A-4 Harmony A Co-op
- A-5 Archer Co-op
- A-6 176 The Esplanade
- A-7 Woodsworth Co-op
- A-8 Old York Condo
- A-9 Young People Theatre
- A-10 145 Front Street
- A-11 Ontario Hydro

Phase B

- B-1 Caroline Co-op
- B-2 Freehold Townhouse
- B-3 Harmony B Co-op
- B-4 Place St. Laurent
- B-5 New Dimensions
- B-6 15 Scadding Ave.
- B-7 Windmill Co-op
- B-8 Berkely Co-op
- B-9 St. Lawrence-on-the-Park Condo



ST. LAWRENCE LAND USE STATISTICS

JANUARY 16, 1991

PHASE A

DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

PARKING

PARCEL	STATUS	DENSITY				NR TOT	TOTAL	SITE AREA	FSI	BACH	RESIDENTIAL UNITS			TOTAL ASST	UNITS	PARKING		TOT
		RES	RETAIL	OFF	COMM.						1	2	3+			RESID	PUB	
CROMBIE PK APTS.	E	13,304	2,256	0	4,351	6,607	19,911	5,458	3.65	88	89	18	12	207	207	56	0	56
CATHEDRAL CO-OP	E	9,569	0	0	166	166	9,735	3,121	3.12	0	17	28	24	69	69	62	28	90
HARMONY CO-OP	E	2,883	0	0	0	0	2,883	2,069	1.39	0	4	4	22	30	30	30	0	30
ARCHER CO-OP	E	18,093	383	42	137	562	18,655	6,572	2.84	34	78	44	35	191	191	75	0	75
176 ESPLANADE	E	21,706	1,964	0	0	1,964	23,670	10,372	2.28	29	125	126	23	303	303	97	0	97
WOODSWORTH CO-OP	E	17,260	0	0	0	0	17,260	8,014	2.15	0	72	80	42	194	194	71	0	71
OLD YORK CONDO	E	9,123	926	0	0	926	10,049	1,323	7.60	0	9	43	0	52	0	60	0	60
A2B MKT PKG LOT	P	46,050	3,580	3,280	620	7,480	53,530	10,607	5.05	53	334	155	8	550	100	486	419	905
YOUNG PEOPLE THR	E	0	0	0	2,404	2,404	2,404	910	2.64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
145 FRONT ST.	E	0	0	9,120	0	9,120	9,120	1,257	7.26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NET TOTAL		137,988	9,109	12,442	7,678	29,229	167,217	49,703	3.36	204	728	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	10,725	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
ONTARIO HYDRO	E	0	0	0	165	165	165	9,576	0.02	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	534	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	18,587	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,178	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GROSS TOTAL		137,988	9,109	12,442	7,678	29,229	167,217	94,303	1.77	204	728	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384
											13%	46%	31%	10%	100%			

PHASE B

DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)

RESIDENTIAL UNITS

PARKING

PARCEL	STATUS	DENSITY				NR TOT	TOTAL	SITE AREA	FSI	BACH	RESIDENTIAL UNITS			TOTAL ASST	UNITS	PARKING		TOT
		RES	RETAIL	OFF	COMM.						1	2	3+			RESID	PUB	
CAROLINE CO-OP	E	7,288	0	0	0	0	7,288	3,124	2.33	0	18	24	18	60	60	30	0	30
FREEHOLD THOUSE	E	20,815	0	0	0	0	20,815	11,755	1.77	0	11	17	110	138	10	103	0	103
HARMONY II CO-OP	E	6,350	0	0	0	0	6,350	2,350	2.70	0	42	21	15	78	78	46	0	46
PL.ST.LAURENT	E	10,549	0	0	0	0	10,549	2,966	3.56	0	80	55	0	135	135	67	0	67
NEW DIMENSIONS	E	5,112	0	0	0	0	5,112	1,614	3.17	0	0	6	26	32	32	18	0	18
15 SCADDING AVE	E	24,542	0	0	225	225	24,767	8,098	3.06	98	82	91	10	281	281	138	0	138
WINDMILL CO-OP	E	19,681	0	0	0	0	19,681	3,258	6.04	0	88	86	32	206	206	114	0	114
BERKELEY ST COOP	E	9,192	0	0	0	0	9,192	3,489	2.63	0	40	39	20	99	99	56	0	56
ST.LAW.PK.CONDO	E	24,695	0	0	0	0	24,695	3,702	6.67	1	87	159	2	249	0	114	0	114
NET TOTAL		128,223	0	0	225	225	128,448	40,356	3.18	99	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	16,994	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,066	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,348	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	17,914	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5,553	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
GROSS TOTAL		128,223	0	0	225	225	128,448	85,231	1.51	99	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686

PHASE C		DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)							RESIDENTIAL UNITS							PARKING			
-----		-----							-----							-----			
PARCEL	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	SPEC	NR TOT	TOTAL	SITE	FSI	BACH	1	2	3+	TOTAL	ASST	RESID	PUB	TOT	
								AREA			BED	BED	BED	UNITS	UNITS				
CHEN DEV.	P	0	1,400	11,000	3,086	15,486	15,486	2,426	6.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65	65	
25 THE ESPLANADE	E	55,260	2,410	0	0	2,410	57,670	5,144	11.21	287	225	59	0	571	0	119	0	119	
NOVATEL	E	0	0	0	14,816	14,816	14,816	2,350	6.30	266 ROOMS					0	0	322	322	
55 THE ESPLANADE	E	15,264	0	0	30,019	30,019	45,283	6,221	7.28	14	76	57	19	166	166	0	1,059	1,059	
PAT GARAGE	C	0	0	0	28,340	28,340	28,340	6,032	4.70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	945	945	
GROSS MACHINERY	P	17,269	2,878	2,878	0	5,756	23,025	5,756	4.00	26	78	52	17	173	0	173	58	230	
C-2A WMS N'WORK	P	13,500	242	400	0	642	14,142	12,298	4.45	0	115	26	1	142	142	23	0	23	
C-2B NEW HIBRET	P	14,550	0	0	380	380	14,930	C2	C2	0	57	48	36	141	141	83	0	83	
C-2C CITYHOME	P	12,250	0	0	0	0	12,250	C2	C2	0	41	51	23	115	115	58	0	58	
C-2D OLD YORK	P	12,200	1,150	0	0	1,150	13,350	C2	C2	0	96	32	0	128	128	16	9	25	

NET TOTAL		140,293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	40,227	5.95	327	688	325	96	1,436	692	472	2,458	2,929	

PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1,180	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	613	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	866	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,612	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,256	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	

GROSS TOTAL		140,293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	47,754	5.01	327	688	325	96	1,436	692	472	2,458	2,929	
												23%	48%	23%	7%	100%			

TOTAL

ST. LAWRENCE		DENSITY (Gross Floor Area in Square Metres)							RESIDENTIAL UNITS							PARKING			
PHASE	STATUS	RES	RETAIL	OFF	SPEC	NR TOT	TOTAL	AREA	FSI	BACH	1	2	3+	TOTAL	ASST	RESID	PUB	TOT	
											BED	BED	BED	UNITS					UNITS
PHASE A		137,988	9,109	12,442	7,678	29,229	167,217	49,703	3.36	204	728	498	166	1,596	1,094	937	447	1,384	
PHASE B		128,223	0	0	225	225	128,448	40,356	3.18	99	448	498	233	1,278	901	686	0	686	
PHASE C		140,293	8,080	14,278	76,641	98,999	239,292	40,227	5.95	327	688	325	96	1,436	692	472	2,458	2,929	
NET TOTAL		406,504	17,189	26,720	84,544	128,453	534,957	130,286	4.11	630	1,864	1,321	495	4,310	2,687	2,095	2,905	4,999	
PARKS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28,899	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
OPEN SPACE		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,255	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
PUBLIC LANES		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3,748	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
LOCAL STREETS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	39,113	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
OTHER ROADS		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	12,987	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
GROSS TOTAL		406,504	17,189	26,720	84,544	128,453	534,957	227,288	2.35	630	1,864	1,321	495	4,310	2,687	2,095	2,905	4,999	
												15%	43%	31%	11%	100%	62%		

LAND USE SUMMARY

USE	SQ.M.	HA.	ACRES	
BUILDING PARCELS	130,286	13.0	32.2	57%
PARKS & OPEN SPACE	41,154	4.1	10.2	18%
STREETS	55,848	5.6	13.8	25%
TOTAL	227,288	22.7	56.2	100%

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Gross Site Area	Total area of neighbourhood
Gross Block Area	Total area of individual block
Net Site Area	Gross Site Area - (dedicated public streets, lanes, parks)
Net Block Area	Gross Block Area - (dedicated public streets, lanes, parks)
Gross Site Density	$\frac{\text{Total site units/total site gross floor area}}{\text{Gross Site Area}}$
Gross Block Density	$\frac{\text{Total block units/total block gross floor area}}{\text{Gross Block Area}}$
Net Site Density	$\frac{\text{Total site units/total site gross floor area}}{\text{Net Site Area}}$
Net Block Density	$\frac{\text{Total block units/total block gross floor area}}{\text{Net Block Area}}$

List of Consultants

ST. LAWRENCE ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANTS - PHASE A

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>DEVELOPER</u>	ARCHITECT
David B. Archer Co-operative Inc.	The Labour Council Development Foundation	Jerome Markson
Cathedral Court Co-operative Homes Corp.	Cecil Heinrichs Foundation	Robinson and Heinrichs
The Crombie Park Apartments	City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	Irving Grossman Bernard Gillespie (Consulting Architect)
David Crombie Park	The City of Toronto	Sillaste and Nakashima
139-145 Front Street East	Karelia	Joel Shack Janis Kravis
Front Street East and Sherbourne Street	The City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	Zeidler Partnership and Alan Littlewood (Joint Venture)
Harmony Place	Harmony Housing Co-operative Corporation	V.W. Kuchar
Woodsworth Housing Co-operative Inc.	The Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto	Sillaste and Nakashima
Jarvis/George Site Condominiums, Retail & Cityhome	Camrost Developments through Proposal Call and City of Toronto	Page & Steele

ST. LAWRENCE ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANTS - PHASE B

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>DEVELOPER</u>	<u>ARCHITECT</u>
Caroline Co-operative	Lantana Non-Profit Homes Corp.	Matsui, Baer, Vanstone
Place St. laurent	Les Centres d'Acceuil Heritage	J.E. Sievenpiper
Harmony "B" Co-operative	Harmony Housing Co-operative Corp.	V.W. Kuchar
New Dimensions Co-operative	New Canadians from the Soviet Union	B.A. Lebedinsky
Site Planning - Berkeley to Parliament	The City of Toronto	Coombes/Kirkland
Street Design and Buffer Housing	The City of Toronto	Peter Turner
Sherbourne and Wilton Streets	The City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation	The Thom Partnership
St. Lawrence on Park Condominiums	Konvey	Victor Heinrichs
Berkeley Street Co-operative	The Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto	Paul Reuber

ST. LAWRENCE ARCHITECTURAL CONSULTANTS - PHASE C

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>DEVELOPER</u>	<u>ARCHITECT</u>
55 The Esplanade Housing/Garage	Ramparts Development through Proposal Call and City of Toronto	Klein and Sears Read, Jones Christoffersen Ltd., Consulting Engineers
Site Planning - Church to Market		Coombes/Kirkland
Novotel Hotel and The Esplanade Condominiums	AVRO Development	Mutsui Baer Vanstone
C-2 Site Planning/ <u>Co-ordination</u>		M. Spaziani, Architect
C-2 Block A Older Women's Network Co-op	Lantana Non-Profit Homes Co-op	Oleson Woreland
C-2 Block B New Hibret Co-op	Chris Smith & Associates	Roger duToit
C-2 Block C Cityhome	Cityhome	Stone, Kohn, McGuire, Yogh, Architects
C-2 Block D Old York Club Co-op	Labour Council Development Foundation	Quadrangle Architects

ST. LAWRENCE TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS

Appraisals	Metropolitan Trust Co. Fred J. Shankland Smith Donkin and Associates
Design Co-ordination Phase A	Sillaste and Nakashima
Legal Counsellors	Cassels, Brock Cohl, Osak and Grossman Dennis Hefferon Shiff, Gross Siegal, Fogler
Market Research	A.E. LePage (Ontario) Limited Andrew Zimet and Associates
Noise Consultants	SNC/GECO Canada Ltd. Valcoustics Limited
Park Plan	Joel Shack, Architect Stong Moorhead Fleming Corban Inc.
Quantity Surveying	H a n s c o m b R o y Associates
Site Plan	Alan Littlewood, Architect
Surveys	McConnell, Maughan Limited

*The named consultants were in addition to extensive work provided by various City departments

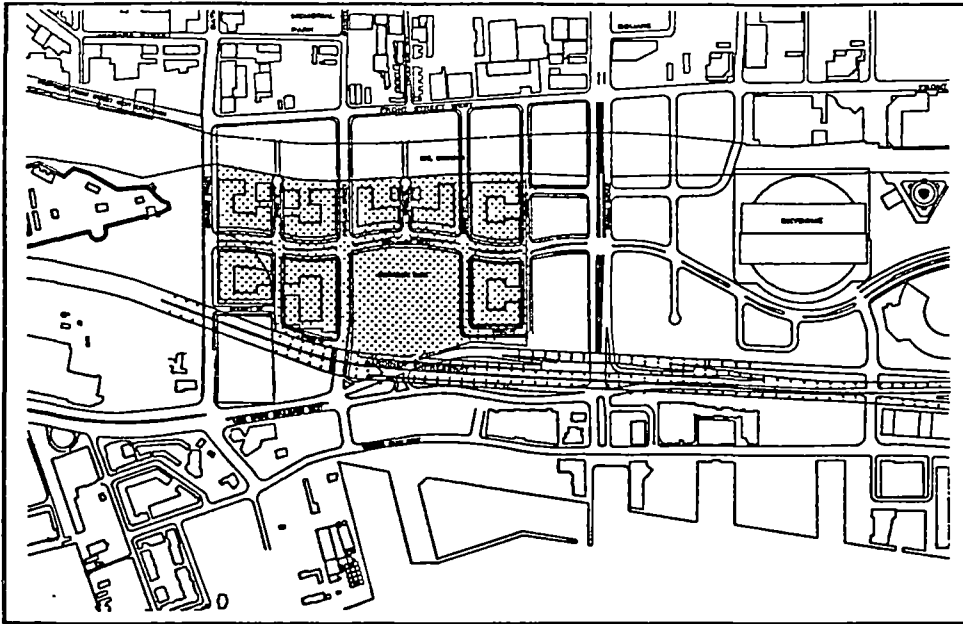
REPORTS AND STUDIES

Block Study	Joel Shack, with Alan Littlewood, Jurgen Henze, Barbara Dewhirst, Frank Lewinberg. Advisors: George Baird and Barry Sampson Structural Consultant: Peter Sheffield and Associates Ltd.
Buffer Studies	Brook-Carruthers-Shaw, Architects Klein and Sears, Research/Planning/Architecture
Design Guidelines Environmental Report	Zeidler Partnership, Architects Philip H. Jones T.C. Hutchinson J.R. Brown A. Waterhouse Zeidler Partnership, Architects
Existing Buildings	Matsui, Baer, Vanstone-Architects
Toxicology Analysis	Peter MacCallum Ltd. John Maryon and Partners Limited Warnock-Hersey Ltd. Hydrology Consultants Ltd. The Trow Group Ltd.
Open Space Design Study	Joel Shack, Architect
Site Services & Traffic Analysis	De Leuw Cather Canada Ltd.
Social Services	Mayer Brownstone Consulting Limited
Development Potential Front/Jarvis	Zeidler Partnership

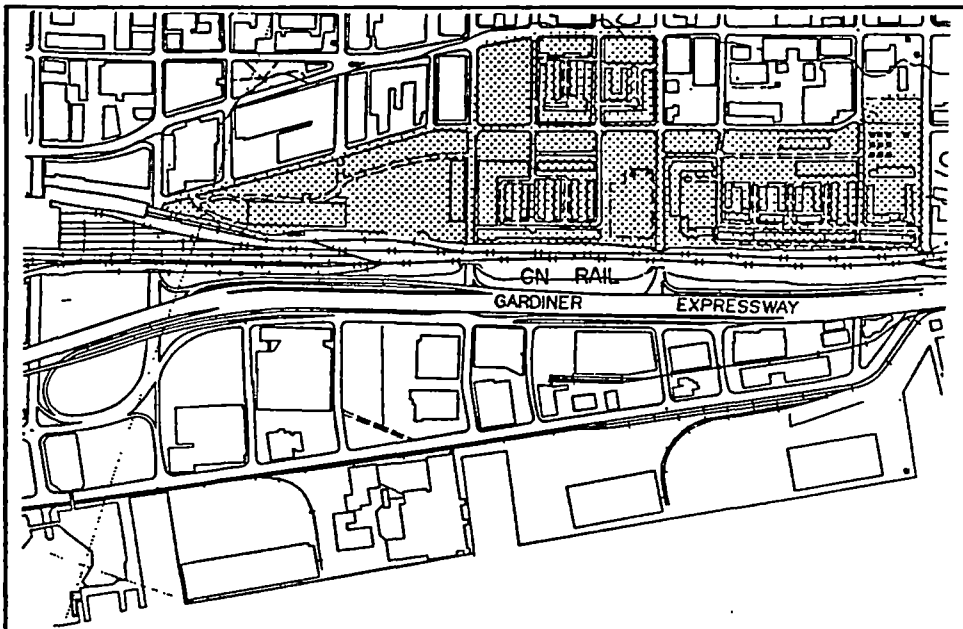


APPENDIX C: Bathurst Spadina & St. Lawrence: A Discussion of the Comparison of Neighbourhood Density

BATHURST-SPADINA



ST. LAWRENCE



A DISCUSSION OF THE COMPARISON OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY

CITY OF TORONTO HOUSING DEPARTMENT
Daniel Burns, Commissioner

JEROME MARKSON ARCHITECTS

SEPTEMBER 1990

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood is a proposed medium density residential neighbourhood of approximately 13.6ha (34 acres) located at the western end of the Railway Lands. It will have a mix of private and non-profit housing units totalling approximately 3000 units. In addition, the plan provides for approximately 18,500m² (200,000 sq.ft.) of street related neighbourhood retail uses.

The Railway Lands, of which Bathurst-Spadina is a part, encompass approximately 80 ha (200 acres) in downtown Toronto extending from Yonge to Bathurst streets, and from Front street to the Gardiner Expressway. The development proposes to accommodate a mix of commercial (1.3 million m² or 14 million ft²) and residential (9000 units) uses, and also includes the 60,000 seat SkyDome and CN Tower, both regional tourist attractions.

The overall planning principle for the Railway Lands was to reclaim and reintegrate this enormous tract of railway yards into the urban fabric and use these lands to connect the city to the waterfront through extending the existing street pattern southward underneath the Gardiner Expressway to Harbourfront. The present Official Plan for the Railway Lands was approved in 1986 after a prolonged planning and public review process.

During the approvals process, the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood was compared in land use density and character to the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood. Though they are not the same, the Bathurst-Spadina neighbourhood can be understood in more recognizable terms if its density and planning characteristics are compared with those of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. St. Lawrence was planned in the mid 1970's as a local residential neighbourhood while Bathurst-Spadina was planned in the late 1980's as part of a much larger redevelopment proposal. The different physical social and planning contexts surrounding each plan established different planning and design objectives for each neighbourhood.

These issues are addressed in this report through a discussion of the differences between the two neighbourhoods in terms of their local neighbourhood and regional roles and their relationship to the surrounding city. This discussion focuses on public infrastructure, community services, linkages, provision of public space and their impact on density and built form. A more detailed numerical comparison of the two neighbourhoods regarding data on housing mix, land use and density is presented by the Kirkland Partnership in "Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence: A Comparison of Neighbourhood Density" (City of Toronto Housing Department, May 1990).

1.1 PLANNING CONTEXT

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood was planned in the mid 1970's to reclaim 22.75 ha (56 acres) of under-utilized land east of downtown Toronto for a new residential neighbourhood with an expected ultimate population of 10,000 residents in 4295 units. It was the first major postwar redevelopment in Toronto that respected the surrounding existing urban fabric of streets and blocks, and re-introduced a built form typology of street-related medium density housing based on historical precedent that had been all too absent in the preceding cycle of urban and suburban development in the Toronto region.

At the same time the overall site plan for St. Lawrence (circa 1975) perceived the site as being at the edge of downtown and as the terminus of development in that quarter of the city, being seemingly cut off from further growth eastward due to existing industrial uses and poor environmental conditions. Similarly, it implicitly recognized the elevated CN tracks and the Gardiner Expressway, and Lakeshore Blvd East, as permanent and apparently impenetrable barriers to any further extension of the historic city grid southward to Queens Quay and the waterfront beyond already existing through streets. As such, its system of new streets, sidewalks and public open spaces were designed entirely for local use.

In comparison, the planning premise for the Railway Lands was to extend the city grid southward through the site to reclaim and fill the 200 acres of railway yards, incorporate them into the urban fabric, and connect the city to the waterfront. Existing through streets, such as Bathurst and Spadina, were to be widened, while a new system of north-south streets would increase the connections to the waterfront.

The planning basis for the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood, the housing precinct at the western end of the Railway Lands, was to continue the pattern of streets and blocks and extend the urban fabric south to Queens Quay West. Further, in its built form, land use and density, it was to mediate between the high density commercial and regionally oriented uses to the east and the lower density residential and mixed-use neighbourhoods to the north and south.

The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood has a strategic location in relationship to Harbourfront and Bathurst Quay to the south, the lower Bathurst Neighbourhood to the north, and anticipated development to the east at the Spadina Sub-Centre. It becomes the link for all these neighbourhoods as well as the neighbourhood shopping and retail precinct for these neighbourhoods. In addition, it is also expected to provide a large measure of community services and facilities for these surrounding neighbourhoods (library, schools, social agency offices, community centre, park, etc.).

In that respect, it is significantly different in its approach than St. Lawrence to the treatment, size, and shape of public spaces such as streets, sidewalks, setbacks and open spaces, as well as in the proposed land uses at street level along all major streets.

2.0 LAND USE

A summary of overall land use in the two neighbourhoods reveals that the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood plan proposes over half of its site, 53%, to be devoted to public parks and streets, whereas in St. Lawrence 42% of its site is devoted to these uses. An analysis of three major categories related to the physical context and planning and design objectives reveal the qualitative reasons for this significant difference between the two neighbourhoods:

- Provision of Public Infrastructure and Community Facilities
- Connections to the City and its Waterfront
- Provision of Public Spaces

2.1 PROVISION OF PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURE AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood was developed on lands with an existing and established infrastructure of streets and site services. The site plan for St. Lawrence therefore included only a few new streets, mostly minor or secondary streets, which were intended to serve the needs of local residents (Figure 1).

In addition, the neighbourhood was located adjacent to east downtown, which had a vibrant economic life, street retail and shopping and restaurant facilities at the St. Lawrence Market and Front Street to serve some of the service needs of the new neighbourhood residents. The community services and facilities for St. Lawrence were intended originally to serve the needs of St. Lawrence residents and not the surrounding community. The new community centre presently being built for the residents is technically not within the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood as described in the original plan.

Within the boundaries of the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood there are no existing streets or services; however, surrounding the precincts of the neighbourhood are the major arterials, Spadina Avenue, Bathurst Street and Front Street West. Therefore, the site plan for the neighbourhood must provide 100% of the street and servicing requirements of the new neighbourhood (Figure 2).

Furthermore, as illustrated in recent inventories of community facilities, Bathurst-Spadina will need to provide for most of the retail and community service needs of its residents as well as some of the needs for the surrounding neighbourhoods of Bathurst Quay and the Spadina Sub-Centre. Therefore, in terms of both hard and soft services, the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood will need to provide for more physical infrastructure and community services than St. Lawrence.

A brief comparison of the amount of non-residential space provided in the two neighbourhoods illustrates the impact of accommodating such uses on site. The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood is predicated on the ability of the surrounding neighbourhoods to satisfy its retail and community service needs. To date, it has very little retail. Most of the retail will be provided in the proposed A2B site.

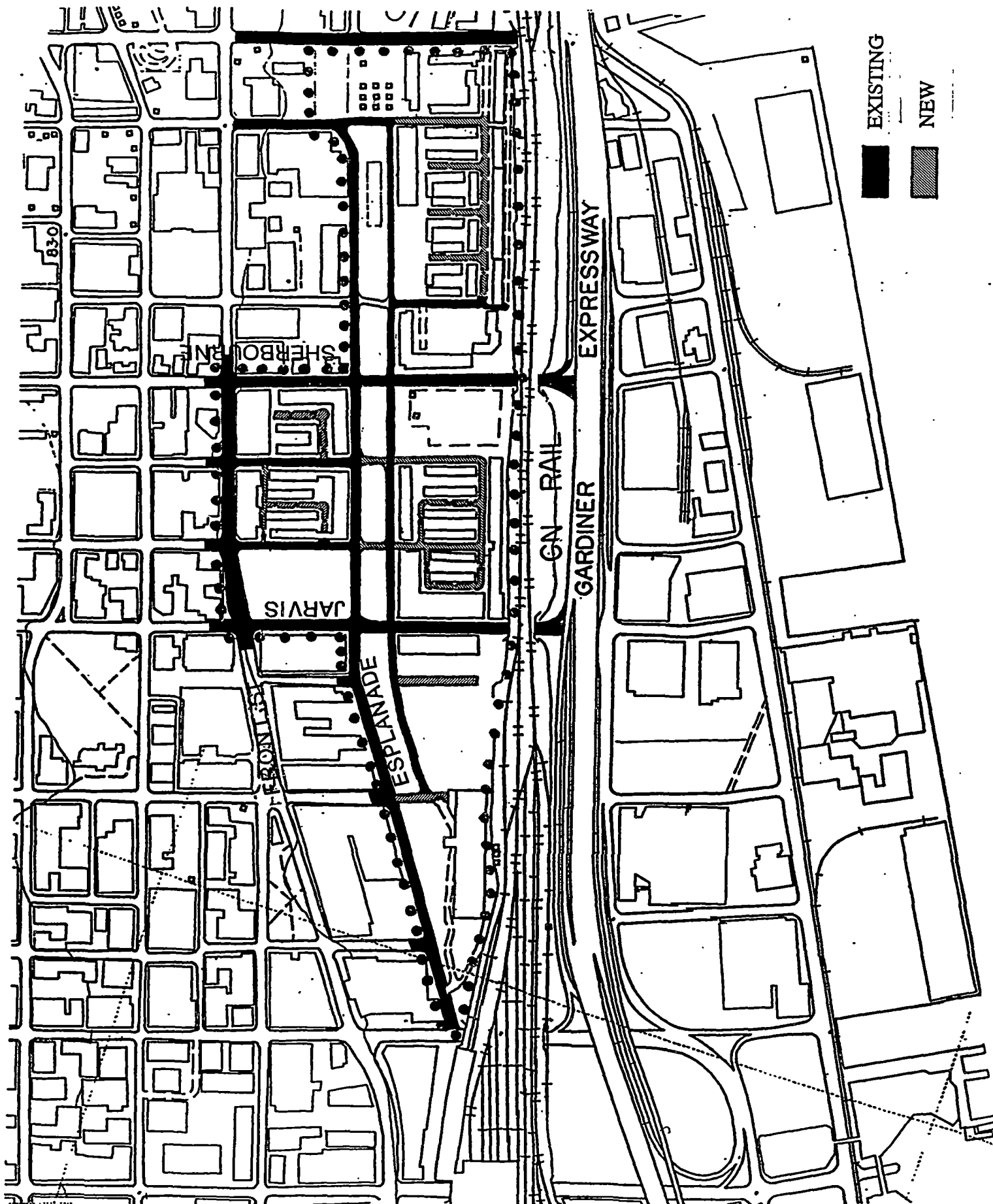
In total, the retail component of St. Lawrence amounts to 8% (0.08x) of the overall site area, and the community services component to 4% (0.04x) of the overall site area. Most of the retail is being provided in the A2B site and in Phase C, thereby reinforcing the image of Phases A & B as being primarily local residential neighbourhoods. Similarly, the new community centre is not within the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood boundary.

It is generally agreed that insufficient provision was made for neighbourhood shopping facilities and, in particular, community services for the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood at the start. It has slowly been rectified at the urging of the St. Lawrence residents, through a new community centre and proposed new facilities in Parcels A2B and C2.

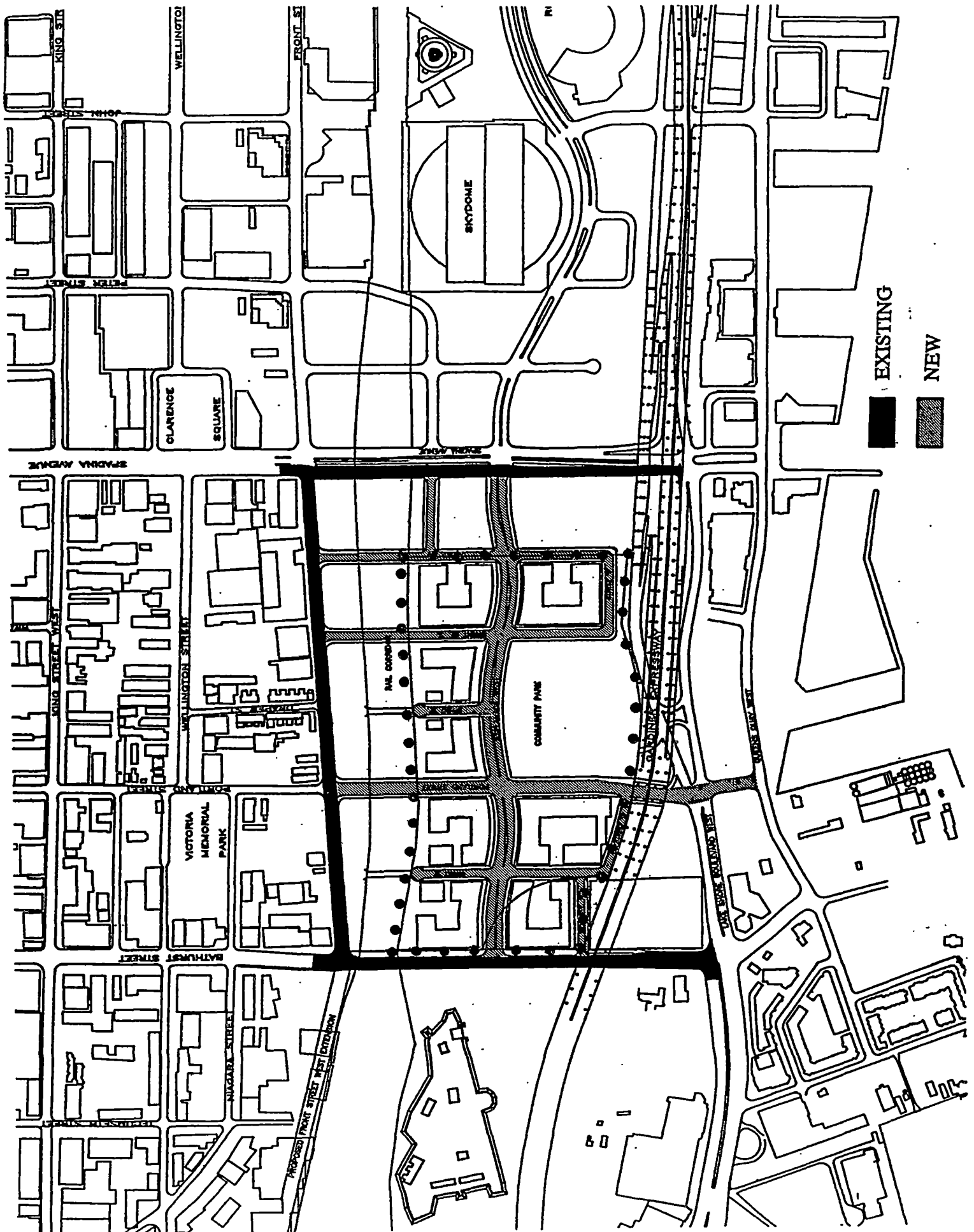
The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood, on the other hand, was planned a decade later, when there was a greater emphasis on the ability of redevelopment to satisfy its internal demands for retail and community services, as well as use these items to establish links with the surrounding community. In essence, this was a lesson learnt from the St. Lawrence experience.

FIGURE 1

ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD: NEW AND EXISTING STREETS



BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD: NEW AND EXISTING STREETS



The facilities in this neighbourhood are expected to serve its own internal needs, as well as go a long way to correcting the shortages for neighbourhood facilities in Bathurst Quay and Harbourfront, plus satisfy some of the needs of residents in the proposed Spadina Sub-Centre.

To that extent, a street related retail component is permitted in each block of about 24% (0.24x) of the site area. A further density of 20% (0.20x) of the site area is also permitted for community services and facilities.

Though final needs are not confirmed, the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood might need to accommodate a major regional community centre, a library, at least two schools, at least two day care centres, a major community park, plus other community services and agency offices to serve the surrounding communities.

2.2 CONNECTIONS TO THE CITY AND ITS WATERFRONT

St. Lawrence was conceived of as a community at the edge of an existing city, and not as a connector, perhaps primarily due to the berm of the elevated train tracks to the south and the elevated Gardiner beyond, creating formidable and seemingly permanent barriers for connecting with the waterfront. Also, in 1974, there was not much thought given to extending St. Lawrence east of Parliament. Thus all arterial connections through St. Lawrence were existing connections, and St. Lawrence was designed as a self-contained local residential neighbourhood.

The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood, due to its crucial location within the Railway Lands and its relationship to the City and Harbourfront, is conceived of as a connector of neighbourhoods as much as a neighbourhood in itself. It is seen as providing connections from the City, across the rail corridor and below the Gardiner, to the waterfront, with its site plan and design accommodating the eventual decking of the tracks and removal of the elevated Gardiner. In short, the plan attempts to overcome the physical and environmental barriers to connecting the city with its waterfront.

In part, it reflects changing perceptions of the city and its relationship to the waterfront during the 1980's in planning and political cultures.

The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood also serves as a connector of the Railway Lands to Fort York and the CNE beyond by allowing for the extension of the Esplanade West. In addition, it is near major regional facilities, the SkyDome and CN Tower, and is adjacent to the extension of the Toronto central business district which includes the high density commercial-residential areas of Southtown and CityPlace (Spadina Sub-Centre).

The proposed site plan for Bathurst-Spadina therefore includes a network of new primary and secondary streets which make connections with the existing city grid and provide opportunities for new connections in the future. The primary streets are all wide boulevards designed to serve local and regional residents as discussed in the next section.

The development of St. Lawrence included new secondary or minor streets which did not establish new connections of the city grid south to the waterfront. The new minor streets are narrow, internal to the neighbourhood, and designed to serve only local access needs. Further, they do not allow any possibility for extension south at any point in the future due to the wall of barrier buildings along the

southern edge, against the rail tracks.

2.3 PROVISION OF PUBLIC SPACE

The St. Lawrence Neighbourhood site planning and urban design guidelines conceived of the neighbourhood as serving mostly local residential needs, particularly through its inventory of public spaces and parks. Obvious examples are the width of its sidewalks, the location of family housing at grade on all streets, the lack of retail uses at grade along practically all new streets, the amount of parkland dedicated, the width of local streets, etc. However, the street is seen as the basic organizing element and the main generator of public space in the neighbourhood.

The Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood plan proposes site planning and urban design guidelines organized along similar lines, but expanded to allow this neighbourhood to serve more than local needs. The Bathurst-Spadina proposed plan is based on the premise (among other assumptions) that the street is the main element of public open space in a neighbourhood, and that the pattern and design of streets should be reinforced by allowing for a variety of activities on them serving both local and non-local needs. The Esplanade West is seen as a wide, treed promenade to connect the major open spaces in the Railway Lands, from Fort York to Roundhouse Park and Southtown. It will also be the centre for shops, cafes, and other elements of public life, serving as the neighbourhood shopping district for the Spadina Sub-Centre, Lower Niagara, and Bathurst Quay in addition to its own community.

The two major north-south streets, Portland Street (and Brant St. S. to a lesser extent), are also streets with wide sidewalks and planting, performing the essential function of providing north-south links between the City and Harbourfront. Portland Street can be the focus for community services and facilities serving the neighbourhoods of Bathurst-Spadina, Spadina Sub-Centre and Bathurst Quay.

Thus the pattern and character of major streets in Bathurst-Spadina is of wide sidewalks and public uses serving a larger population than the immediate neighbourhood. It becomes a connector of neighbourhoods through its provision of amenities and services that become part of daily and public life, thereby drawing residents of surrounding neighbourhoods, while creating a network of streets that connect these neighbourhoods and make these journeys more eventful.

There is a secondary network of minor streets in Bathurst-Spadina. These streets do not have any non-residential uses fronting on them. They are seen as local, residential streets, with lower rise buildings, allowing residents the opportunity to make these streets an extension of their front yards and appropriate them as their neighbourhood public space. These streets would function in a way similar to the new minor streets in St. Lawrence.

A comparison of the amount of streets and open space between the two neighbourhoods, as presented in Table 1¹, reveals that Bathurst-Spadina proposes to dedicate 53% of the overall site area for streets and public parks, compared to 43% for St. Lawrence. As a result, Bathurst-Spadina has 47% of the overall site for net building area. St. Lawrence has 57% of the site for net building area, or about a fifth more net building area than Bathurst-Spadina.

1

Please refer to Appendix for all Tables.

2.3.1 Streets

The comparison of the different underlying assumptions for the creation of public spaces in the two neighbourhoods can be used to explain the differences between the two in their provision and treatment of streets. The sidewalks of major streets in Bathurst-Spadina are augmented with mandatory setbacks of buildings to create much wider spaces for public use. The streets themselves in Bathurst-Spadina have wider rights-of-way, and wider sidewalks, than in St. Lawrence. As a result, there is more space taken up by streets in Bathurst-Spadina than in St. Lawrence (28% vs 25% of total land area).

2.3.2 Open Space

The amount of open space also varies significantly between the two neighbourhoods. Bathurst-Spadina dedicates 25% of its site area to public open space, vs. 18% for St. Lawrence. In addition, the mandatory sidewalk setbacks on primary streets increase the effective public open space by about 5%, thereby increasing this public open space ratio to 30% of site area. In other words, Bathurst-Spadina is providing significantly more usable public open space than St. Lawrence (30% vs 18%).

Crombie Park and community facilities in St. Lawrence were designed for the use of St. Lawrence residents only, while the Community Park (and attendant community facilities) in Bathurst-Spadina are to serve its own needs as well as some of the needs of Spadina Sub-Centre and Bathurst Quay residents.

In addition to the community park and facilities, open spaces are provided to serve the local needs of Bathurst-Spadina residents and include the local secondary streets, the courtyards in each development block, and the public lane and linear park to the north. It is in this respect that Bathurst-Spadina is similar to St. Lawrence, because it has a similar informal system of open space to serve local needs.

It is generally agreed that the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood was not initially designed to have sufficient parks and open space to meet the needs of the surrounding community, in addition to serving the needs of its own residents.

3.0 SITE DENSITY

In Bathurst-Spadina, the dedication of 53% of gross site area for streets and public parks leaves only 47%, or less than half of the site as net area for development. In contrast, St. Lawrence has 57% of its site as net area for development, or almost a fifth more net site area. This difference has a significant impact on net site densities in the two neighbourhoods, as illustrated below. The difference is a result of the planning decision to increase the level of public amenity in the neighbourhood by increasing the amount of public open space for streets and parks.

3.1 RESIDENTIAL

A comparison of net site densities of the two neighbourhoods shows a greater difference than gross densities. As shown in Table 1, the gross densities for Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence, at 2.43 and 2.32 FSI respectively, differ by only 5%. However the net site densities for Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence are 5.21 and 4.05 FSI respectively. This is a difference of 29%, or significantly more than that for gross density. The main reason for this difference is the variation in net site area between Bathurst-Spadina (47%) and St. Lawrence (57%).

The difference between gross and net densities can also be compared for each neighbourhood. In Bathurst-Spadina, since the net site area is 47% or less than half of gross site area, net site density is more than twice gross density (5.21 vs. 2.43). In St. Lawrence, net site density is less than twice gross density (4.05 vs. 2.32). These figures fall on either side of a traditional rule of thumb of net density being approximately twice gross density, due to about half the site being dedicated for streets, parks and other community services in large scale urban redevelopment schemes.

The impact of the higher net density in Bathurst-Spadina is that of increasing the average height of the buildings, as there is less net land available for development. Since these net densities are similar in all the development blocks in Bathurst-Spadina, the built form implications are consistent throughout the neighbourhood. In St. Lawrence, the density figures represent an average; the actual distribution of density varies between the phases. Phases A & B have net densities of 3.36 and 3.18 FSI, while Phase C is at 5.77 FSI. Therefore Phase C is the density carrier. In fact, even within Phase A, Parcel A2B (yet to be developed) is the density carrier, thereby reducing the net densities of the existing parcels and creating a different image and character for Phase A at the start.

These differences are illustrated further in Tables 2, 3 and 4 in a series of comparisons between various parcels in Bathurst-Spadina and representative parcels from Phases A, B and C in St. Lawrence.

In Table 2, Woodsworth Co-op is representative of a typical block in Phase A of St. Lawrence. It has a net density of 2.15 FSI, compared to the average Phase A net density of 3.36 FSI. This illustrates the role of the A2B site as the density carrier for Phase A. In comparison, Block 32 in Bathurst-Spadina has a net density of 5.5 FSI.

In Table 3, Windmill Co-op in Phase B of St. Lawrence has a net density of 6.3 FSI, which is higher than Block 32 in Bathurst-Spadina at 5.5 FSI, and is much higher than the Phase B average of 3.18 FSI. In effect, Windmill Co-op is a density carrier for Phase B, which has a large component of low density townhouses. Table 4 compares the C2 site in Phase C of St. Lawrence with Block 33/34 in Bathurst-Spadina. They have net densities of 4.15 and 5.5 FSI respectively.

3.2 NON-RESIDENTIAL

The non-residential net site density for St. Lawrence is .57x (including hotel, parking, office, retail, and community facilities) compared to .55x (including retail and community facilities) for Bathurst-Spadina. However, when disaggregated, the St. Lawrence non-residential uses indicate that .08x is

comprised of retail and .04x of community facilities with the remaining .45x consisting of hotel, parking and office uses. Furthermore, these uses are concentrated in Phase A2B and in Phase C. In contrast, the Official Plan as amended by the OMB requires the Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood to distribute its commercial uses as street-related retail throughout the neighbourhood.

	St. Lawrence Neighbourhood		Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood	
Retail	17,905 M ²	.08X	18584 M ²	.24X
Community Services	8,306 M ²	.04X	15814 M ²	.20X
TOTAL	26,211 M ²	.12X	34398 M ²	.44X

The total retail and community service component in St. Lawrence amounts to 0.12x (12%) of net site area. If we assume that building coverage or foot print is normally about 50% of net site area, then the impact of 0.12x density would be to add about one quarter of a floor on average to the height of the building on every development block. In St. Lawrence, this non-residential density is concentrated in the Phase A2B site and in Phase C, thereby, maintaining a lower density and height in the remaining Phase A and Phase B sites.

The total non-residential density in Bathurst-Spadina is 0.44x (44%) of net site area. Again, assuming building coverage of 50%, the impact of this density is to add approximately one complete floor on average to the height of every development block. In Bathurst-Spadina, this density is typically distributed evenly in each development block.

4.0 TYPICAL BLOCK DENSITIES

General urban design issues for Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence have been outlined on previous pages. St. Lawrence was conceived of as a primarily local residential neighbourhood. This theme is carried through in its distribution of built form, density, open space and street network. Bathurst-Spadina is a residential neighbourhood which will likely serve as a focus for retail and community services for a much larger catchment area, as well as acting as a connector of various neighbourhoods. This large "public" function has influenced the design of public spaces and development blocks.

The typical block proposals for Bathurst-Spadina are based on several planning and design objectives. Two primary design goals are outlined below.

- I. Division of development blocks into several housing parcels, with the following objectives:
 - each development parcel should address a public street;
 - streetwalls should be located along primary streets to provide continuity in streetscape; to clearly contain streets and edges of open space; and to provide

- continuous weather-protected routes and street-related retail and community services;
- the overall configuration should provide opportunities for shared residential courtyards and semi-public open spaces;
- the amount of grade-related housing suitable for families with children with access to semi-public open space should be maximized; and,
- servicing and vehicular access should be coordinated on a development block.

The perimeter block form of development optimizes all of these objectives as well as provide for flexibility in meeting a second goal, the provision of a variety of building heights.

II. A range of building heights with the following objectives:

- a variety of building forms and types within the neighbourhood to accommodate a range of sizes, preferences and housing interests;
- a distribution of height which can maximize solar access within courtyard spaces, public parks, and on the main pedestrian promenade, The Esplanade West;
- the Esplanade West retain its special character in the Railway Lands by emphasizing a 20 metre streetwall condition similar to the heights of Union Station and the Post Office building;
- the maximum density in each block carried in high rise towers on primary north-south streets, which become the "density carriers", allowing buildings along the Esplanade West to be at mid-rise scale, and also maintaining a low-rise character along secondary streets;
- higher buildings located on the northern edge of development blocks, and set back from the streetwall, so that impacts on pedestrian level winds and shadows on public outdoor spaces are minimized; and,
- the provision of a variety and diversity of building forms and types that avoid a "project-like" appearance.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence neighbourhoods share many similarities in terms of urban design and site planning principles. At the scale of street and block and overall urban design guidelines both neighbourhoods share similar approaches to the following: extension of the existing street pattern from the surrounding into the new neighbourhood; acknowledgment of the street grid as the primary organizing element and container of public life; a system of major and minor streets

with appropriate adjoining built form; and, a positive relationship of building to street to provide every building with a street address.

These two neighbourhoods also share similar built form and open space approaches in having a community park as a major focus of the neighbourhood, in generally locating higher rise buildings adjacent to major open space, in creating streetwall conditions to define and contain streets and parks, and in creating low rise residential neighbourhoods on minor streets.

Furthermore, these two neighbourhoods have similar average gross densities in terms of Floor Space Index (FSI). St. Lawrence has an average gross density of 2.32 FSI, while Bathurst-Spadina is planned at up to 2.43 FSI, or a less than 5% variation between the two. The variation of gross density is more significant within the various phases of St. Lawrence. Phase A is at 1.77 FSI, Phase B at 1.51 and Phase C at 4.86. Thus Phase C, west of Jarvis, is the density carrier for St. Lawrence. Similarly, in Phase A, Block A2B (not yet developed) will be the density carrier, allowing the existing developments in phase A to have lower densities than 1.77.

Even though these neighbourhoods share certain similarities, a comparison of the two in relationship to their physical surroundings and their response to existing physical constraints (Gardiner Expressway, rail tracks, Lakeshore Blvd., etc.) reveals that they perform different roles, with a resultant impact on built form and net density.

St. Lawrence was planned in the mid 1970's as a new local residential enclave at the eastern edge of downtown being served by the existing infrastructure of streets and services, and existing retail facilities. Due to existing industrial uses and poor environmental conditions further east, it was conceived of as the eastern terminus of development in the area. Similarly, it recognized the elevated Gardiner Expressway and rail tracks, and Lakeshore Blvd. at grade, as barriers to the southern extension of new streets to the waterfront. Its response was to create a local neighbourhood that related more to its own needs than trying to forge a link between the city and the waterfront. As a result, its amount of open space and streets is lower than for Bathurst-Spadina, as is the amount of community and retail facilities.

Bathurst-Spadina was planned in the 1980's as part of the larger Railway Lands development. In its built form, land use and density, it was to mediate between the high density commercial and regionally oriented uses to the east and the lower density residential and mixed use neighbourhood to the north and south. It was to provide a new system of streets, to extend the street grid and urban fabric from the city to Harbourfront. It was to be self-sufficient in neighbourhood retail and community facilities, as well as serve the needs of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

As a result, Bathurst-Spadina devotes more site area for streets and open space, and has a much larger street related retail and community services component, than St. Lawrence. Thus even though the two neighbours are similar in gross density terms, Bathurst-Spadina has a 29% higher average net density (5.21 vs 4.05 FSI).

These measures result in developments with a greater average building height in Bathurst-Spadina than in St. Lawrence. The average height would be similar to the apartment buildings along Crombie park. As discussed before, this density is distributed differently in each block to respond to varying street and environmental conditions and create a mix of built form to suit different housing requirements.

The reason for the differences between the two neighbourhoods can also be traced to the change in planning and political cultures in the intervening decade between the 1970's and 1980's. The central Toronto waterfront had not seen much development till the early 1970's, except for the Toronto Star building and the Harbour Castle hotel and condominium apartment development at the foot of Yonge and Bay Streets respectively.

Harbourfront was being proposed in the mid 1970's as a waterfront park west of Bay Street while St. Lawrence was already in the planning stages. The City's industrial policy discouraged the conversion of lands south of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood to residential uses. In short, Toronto had not yet rediscovered its waterfront in the 1970's, particularly south of St. Lawrence. St. Lawrence therefore represented an exemplary exercise in urban design and planning as well as the production of over 4000 units of housing in a unique mix of market and non-profit units, but in a new neighbourhood planned and designed to serve only local needs.

While St. Lawrence was being developed east of downtown, Harbourfront was being planned and developed in the late 1970's in the strip of reclaimed industrial and warehousing lands and disused quays and piers along Queens Quay from Bay Street to Stadium Road. The housing component of Harbourfront was located west of Simcoe Street, while the social housing precinct was located at Bathurst Quay. The latter was particularly alienated in terms of access to neighbourhood retail and social services and connections to the city.

In effect, Harbourfront was separated from the city by the barriers of an elevated Gardiner Expressway and Lakeshore Blvd. West. It therefore developed as an east-west linear neighbourhood on either side of Queen's Quay with barrier buildings that turned their "backs" to the Gardiner, and consequently, the city to the north. This orientation could be problematical if the Gardiner is removed.

This factor was an important influence in the current planning of the Railway Lands which started in the early 1980's. A major planning principle for the Railway Lands was to create new links from the city to the waterfront and re-integrate Harbourfront with the city. North-South connections, and a north-south orientation for the plan became increasingly important in terms of creating new streets that offered pedestrian comfort and amenity and overcame the principal and environmental constraints of the transportation corridors.

Harbourfront and Bathurst-Spadina are similar in their need to serve as viable neighbourhoods for the local residents as well as serve a range of retail and community needs of a diverse population from both within and outside its locality. In contrast to these two neighbourhoods, St. Lawrence was planned to satisfy local residential needs. But Harbourfront and Bathurst-Spadina differ in their approach to the provision and distribution of streets, community and retail facilities, and open space.

Harbourfront did not attempt to make connections past the transportation corridor with the city to the north. Like St. Lawrence, it exhibited the planning response to the Gardiner Expressway and the train tracks that prevailed in the 1970's. Similarly, neither Harbourfront nor St. Lawrence provided for a full range of social services or facilities that are needed by local residents, such as community centres, day care centres, social service agency offices, etc. The Bathurst-Spadina plan is an attempt to learn from these neighbourhoods, as evidenced by its provision of street connections, community facilities and open space.

The perceived lack of distinction between public and private open space in Harbourfront, and the confusion over parkland dedication, were other factors influencing the provision and disposition of open space in Bathurst-Spadina. The street system was established as the primary organizing element in the plan, and its public function was further reinforced with a system of setbacks that increases public use and amenity. Further, a major community park was proposed to increase the amount and benefit of land in the public realm. These planning decisions were made to establish the perception and use of dedicated open space within a clearly identifiable public realm.

The difference between Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence lies in their different relationships and ability to make connections with the waterfront, and the evolving interest in the community of integrating the city with its waterfront. In addition, the role and amenities of the public realm and the use and nature of downtown streets have taken on added significance in the Railway Lands. Together, these differences in the planning and political contexts explain the differences in results with respect to height, density, built form and open space in the two neighbourhoods.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Summary of Comparison: Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence Neighbourhoods

CHARACTERISTIC	BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD			ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD		
Distribution of land uses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10% less net residential land 	Parks	3.4 ha	25%	Parks	4.1 ha	18%
	Streets	3.8 ha	28%	Streets	5.6 ha	25%
	Net Res.	6.3 ha	47%	Net Res.	13.1 ha	57%
	Total	13.5 ha	100%	Total	22.8 ha	100%
Dedicated and Non-dedicated Public Space <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10% more dedicated public space • 16% more dedicated and non-dedicated public space 	Area		% of Total Site	Area		% of Total Site
	<u>Public, dedicated</u>			<u>Public, dedicated</u>		
	Parks	3.4 ha	25%	Parks	4.1 ha	18%
	Streets	3.8 ha	28%	Streets	5.6 ha	25%
	SUBTOTAL	7.2 ha	53%	SUBTOTAL	9.7 ha	43%
	<u>Public & Semi-public, non-dedicated</u>			<u>Public & Semi-public, non-dedicated</u>		
	Setbacks			Setbacks		
	Primary Streets	.7 ha	5%	Primary Streets	n/a	
	TOTAL	7.9 ha	59%	TOTAL	9.7 ha	43%
Unit Mix and Average Unit Size <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • average unit size 5% greater for assisted housing; 6% more units smaller for market housing 	<u>Assisted Housing</u>			<u>Assisted Housing</u>		
	Bachelors	5%	45%	Bachelors	10%	55%
	One Bedroom	40%		One Bedroom	45%	
	Two Bedroom	40%	55%	Two Bedroom	32%	45%
	Two + Bedroom	15%		Two + Bedroom	13%	
	Average Gross Unit Size =		89 m ²	Average Gross Unit Size =		84 m ²
	<u>Market Housing</u>			<u>Market Housing</u>		
	Bachelors	5%	45%	Bachelors	22%	65%
	One Bedroom	40%		One Bedroom	43%	
	Two Bedroom	50%	55%	Two Bedroom	28%	35%
	Two + Bedroom	5%		Two + Bedroom	7%	
	Average Gross Unit Size =		100 m ²	Average Gross Unit Size =		107 m ²
Total Units <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • similar assisted and market housing proportion 	Total Units	3155		Total Units	4295	
	Assisted Units	1935	61%	Assisted Units	2672	62%
	Market Units	1220	39%	Market Units	1623	38%

Table 1: Summary of Comparison: Bathurst-Spadina and St. Lawrence Neighbourhoods

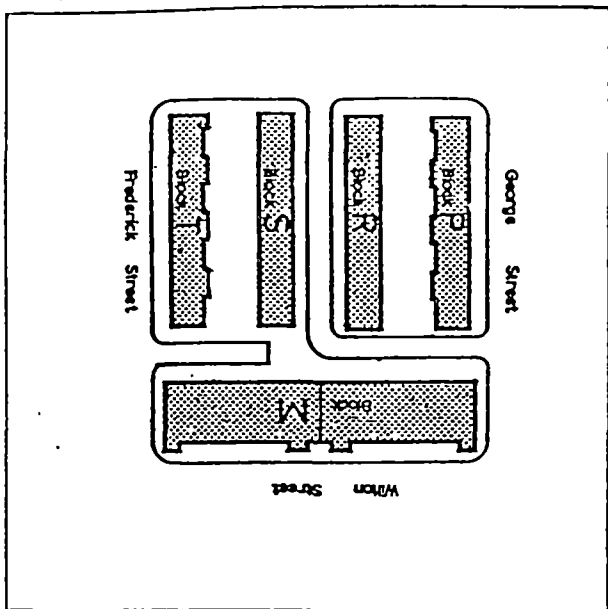
CHARACTERISTIC	BATHURST-SPADINA NEIGHBOURHOOD			ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD		
Residential Density • gross residential density 5% greater • net residential density 29% greater		UPH/UPA	FSI		UPH/UPA	FSI
	Gross	234 uph 95 upa	2.43 x	Gross	189 uph 76 upa	2.32 x
	Net	500 uph 202 upa	5.21 x	Net	329 uph 133 upa	4.05 x
Retail and Community Services and Facilities • proportionately greater amount of non-residential space allocated to retail and community services	Total non-residential space	3.4 ha	.44x	Total non-residential space	12.9 ha	.12x
	Retail	1.8 ha		Retail	1.8 ha	
	Community service	1.6 ha		Community services	0.8 ha	
	Office	0		Office	2.7 ha	
	Other	0		Other	7.6 ha	
Building Types	4 storey low-rise apartments			2 to 3 storey townhouses		
	6 storey low-rise apartments			7 to 11 storey mid-rise streetwall apartments		
	7 to 9 storey mid-rise streetwall apartments			6 - 12 storey perimeter block apartments		
	16 and 23 storey hi-rise apartments			30 storey hi-rise apartment		

Table 2

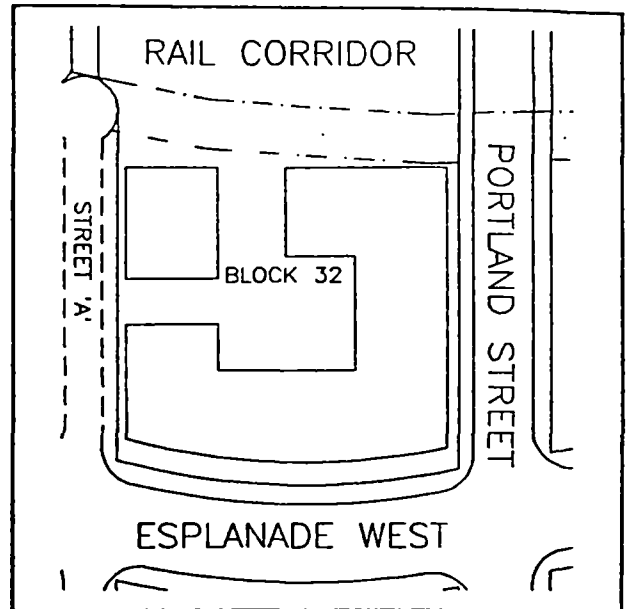
Block Comparisons: St. Lawrence and Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhoods

Row	Calculation	St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Woodsworth Co-op (A)		Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood Block 32	
1	Gross Block Area	9473 m ²		9700 m ²	
2	Dedicated Streets, Lanes, Parks	1459 m ²	15%	2040 m ²	21%
3	Net Block Area (row 1 minus row 2)	8014 m ²	85%	7660 m ²	79%
4	Net Block Dimensions	94 m (w) x 96 m (d)		90 m (w) x 95 m (d)	
5	Additional Setbacks	488 m ²	5%	939 m ²	10%
6	Net Net Block Area (row 3 minus row 5)	7526 m ²	80%	6721 m ²	69%
7	Housing Units	194		425	
8	Unit Mix and Average Unit Size	Bachelors 0% 1-Bdrm. 37% 2-Bdrm. 41% 3-Bdrm.+ 22% Average unit= 89 m ²		Bachelors 5% 1-Bdrm. 40% 2-Bdrm. 40% 3-Bdrm.+ 15% Average unit= 89 m ²	
9	Non-residential Uses	Retail 0 Community Service 0 TOTAL 0		Retail 2277 m ² Community Service 1940 m ² TOTAL 4217 m ²	
10	Gross Floor Area	17260 m ²		42042 m ²	
11	Gross Block Density	1.82 x	205 uph	4.3 x	438 uph
12	Net Block Density	2.15 x	242 uph	5.5 x	555 uph
13	Net Net Block Density	2.29 x	258 uph	6.3 x	632 uph
13	Building Coverage	46% of gross block 55% of net block		47% of gross block 60% of net block	
14	Building Heights	3 - 9 floors		4 - 22 floors	

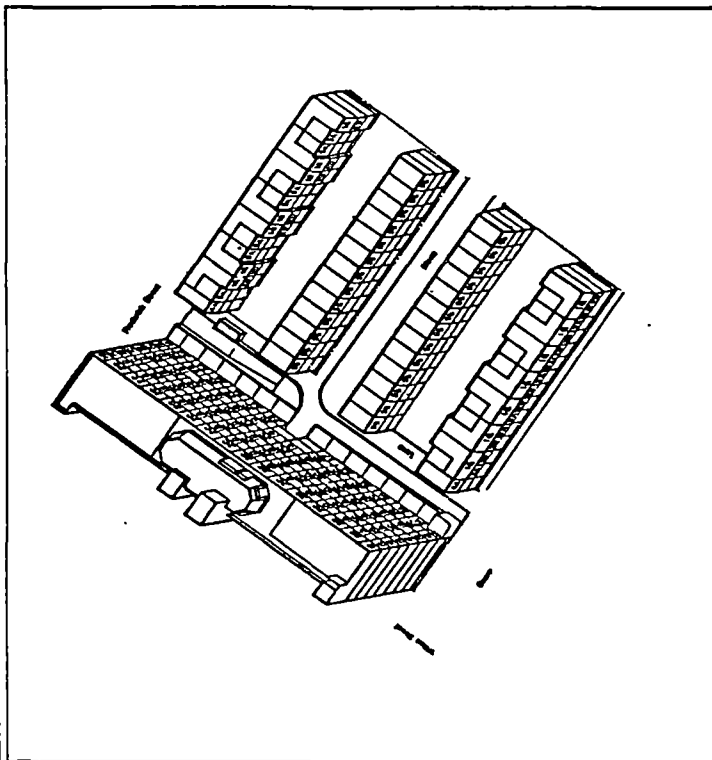
Sources : Woodsworth Co-op: Drawings and data from plans produced by Sillaste + Nakashima Architects for Toronto Non-Profit Co-operative Housing Federation, April 1978.
Bathurst-Spadina: Jerome Markson Architects, (1990)



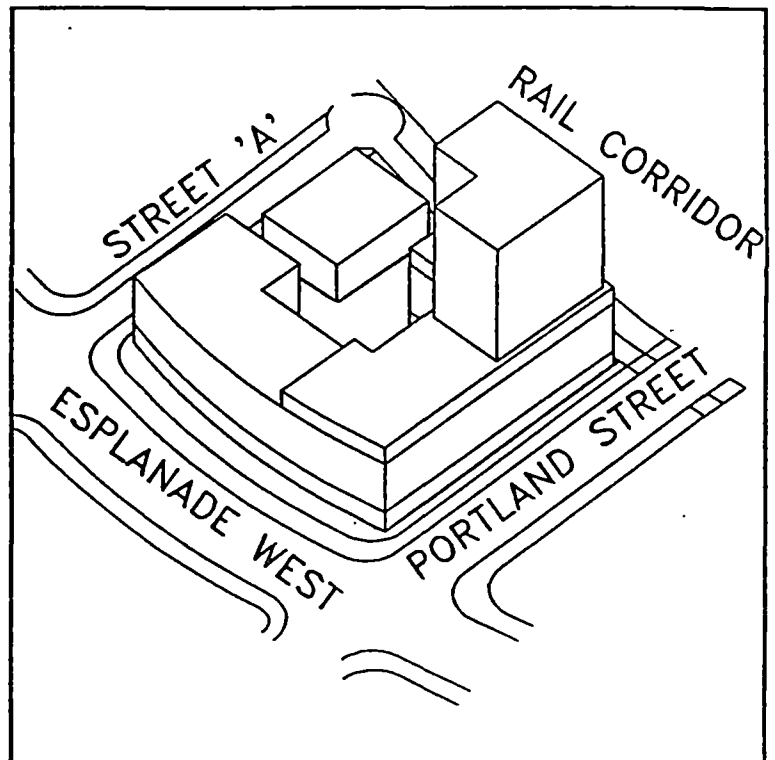
St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: Woodsworth Co-op As-Built Building Footprint



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Footprint



St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: Woodsworth Co-op As-Built Axonometric



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Envelope Axonometric

Note: Drawings are approximately at the same scale.

Table 3

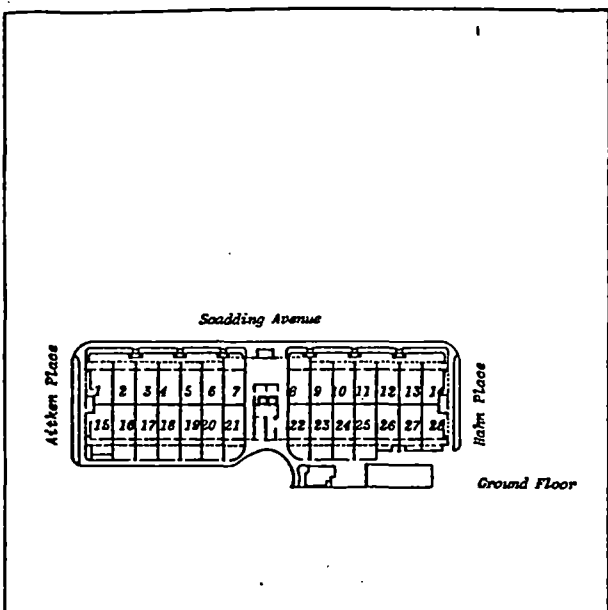
Block Comparisons: St. Lawrence and Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhoods

Row	Calculation	St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Windmill Co-op (B)		Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood Block 32	
1	Gross Block Area	3610 m ²		9700 m ²	
2	Dedicated Streets, Lanes, Parks	352 m ²	10 %	2040 m ²	21 %
3	Net Block Area (row 1 minus row 2)	3258 m ²	90 %	7660 m ²	79 %
4	Net Block Dimensions	100 m (w) x 31 m (d)		90 m (w) x 95 m (d)	
5	Additional Setbacks	0 m ²	0 %	939 m ²	10 %
6	Net Net Block Area (row 3 minus row 5)	3258 m ²	90 %	6721 m ²	69 %
7	Housing Units	206		425	
8	Unit Mix and Average Unit Size	Bachelors 0% 1-Bdrm. 43% 2-Bdrm. 42% 3-Bdrm.+ 15% Average unit= 96 m ²		Bachelors 5% 1-Bdrm. 40% 2-Bdrm. 40% 3-Bdrm.+ 15% Average unit= 89 m ²	
9	Non-residential Uses	Retail 0 m ² Community Service 0 m ² TOTAL 0 m ²		Retail 2277 m ² Community Service 1940 m ² TOTAL 4217 m ²	
10	Gross Floor Area	20493 m ²		42042 m ²	
11	Gross Block Density	5.7 x	570 uph	4.3 x	438 uph
12	Net Block Density	6.3 x	632 uph	5.5 x	555 uph
13	Net Net Block Density	6.3 x	632 uph	6.3 x	632 uph
13	Building Coverage	53 % of gross block 59 % of net block		47% of gross block 60% of net block	
14	Building Heights	10 floors		4 - 22 floors	

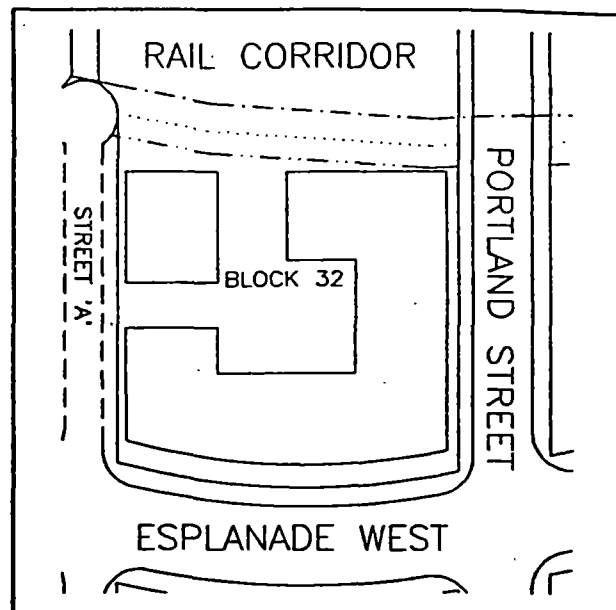
Sources:

Windmill Co-op: Drawings and partial data from "Ataratiri Building and Block Study", Michael Spaziani and Steven Fong for City of Toronto Housing Dept., (1990); partial data from "St. Lawrence Land Use Statistics", Kirkland Partnership, (1990).

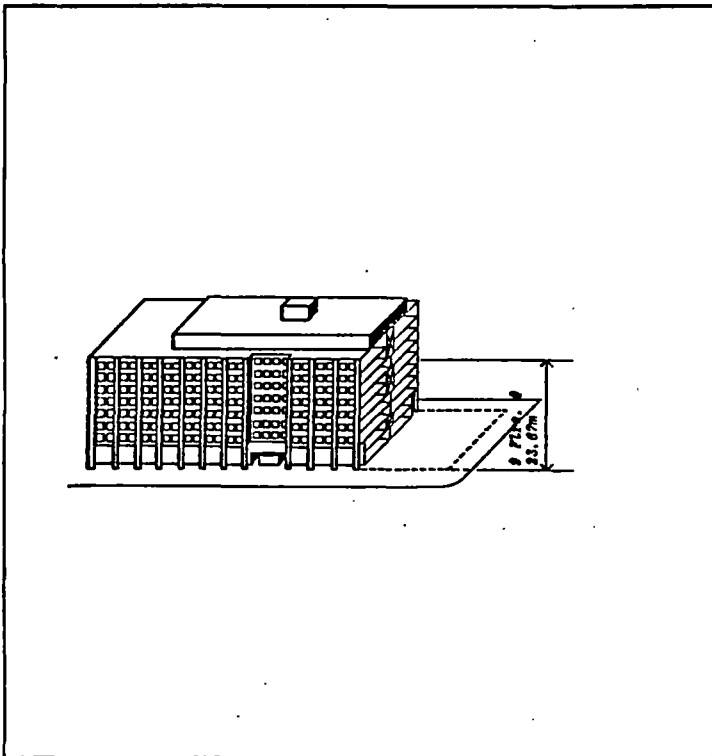
Bathurst-Spadina: Jerome Markson Architects, (1990).



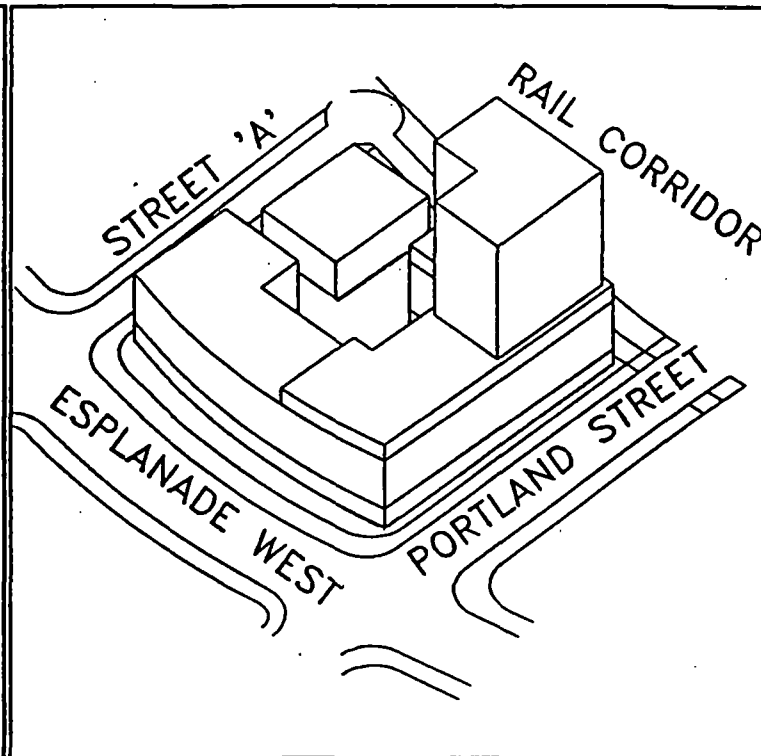
St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: Windmill Co-op As-Built Ground Floor



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Footprint



St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: Windmill Co-op As-Built Axonometric



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 32 Building Envelope Axonometric

Table 4

Block Comparisons: St. Lawrence and Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhoods

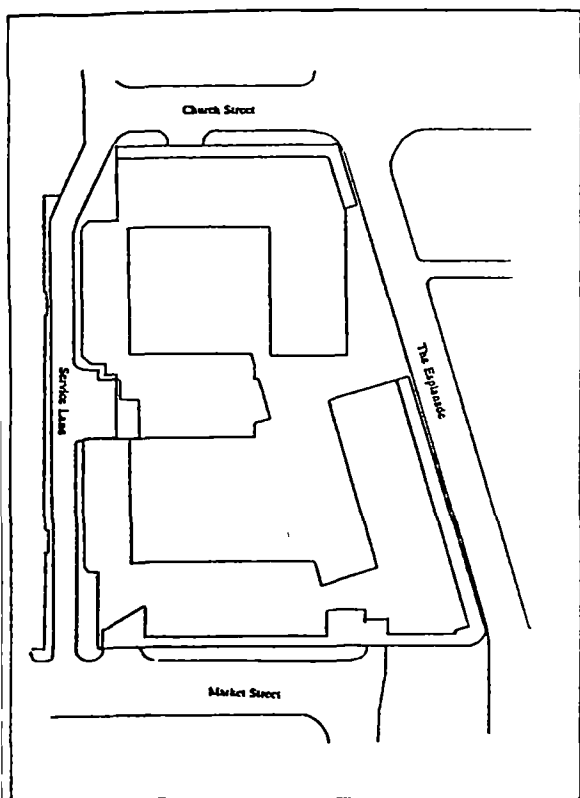
Row	Calculation	St. Lawrence Neighbourhood C2 Site		Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood Block 33/34	
1	Gross Block Area	12492 m ²		13600 m ²	
2	Dedicated Streets, Lanes, Parks	791 m ²	6%	2957 m ²	22%
3	Net Block Area (row 1 minus row 2)	11701 m ²	94%	10643 m ²	79%
4	Net Block Dimensions	130 m (w) x 95 m (d) avg.		90 m (w) x 120 m (d) avg.	
5	Additional Setbacks	0	0	873 m ²	7%
6	Net Net Block Area (row 3 minus row 5)	11701 m ²	94%	9770 m ²	72%
7	Housing Units	511		595	
8	Unit Mix and Average Unit Size	Bachelors 1-Bdrm. 2-Bdrm. 3-Bdrm.+ Average unit=	0% 68% 26% 6% 88 m ²	Bachelors 1-Bdrm. 2-Bdrm. 3-Bdrm.+ Average unit=	5% 40% 40% 15% 89 m ²
9	Non-residential Uses	Retail Community Service TOTAL	2504 m ² 403 m ² 2907 m ²	Retail Community Service TOTAL	3252 m ² 2720 m ² 5972 m ²
10	Gross Floor Area	48516 m ²		58927 m ²	
11	Gross Block Density	3.85 x	409 uph	4.3 x	438 uph
12	Net Block Density	4.15 x	437 uph	5.5 x	559 uph
13	Building Coverage	53% of gross block ** 57% of net block **		45% of gross block 58% of net block	
14	Building Heights	6 - 12 floors		4 - 16 floors	

Notes:

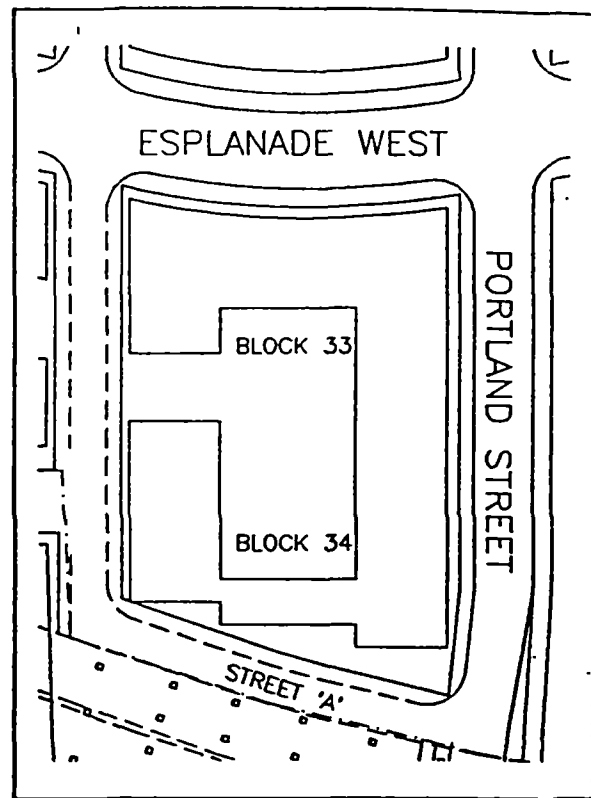
** Building coverage calculated on equivalent basis to Block 33/34 = gfa of upper floors

Sources:

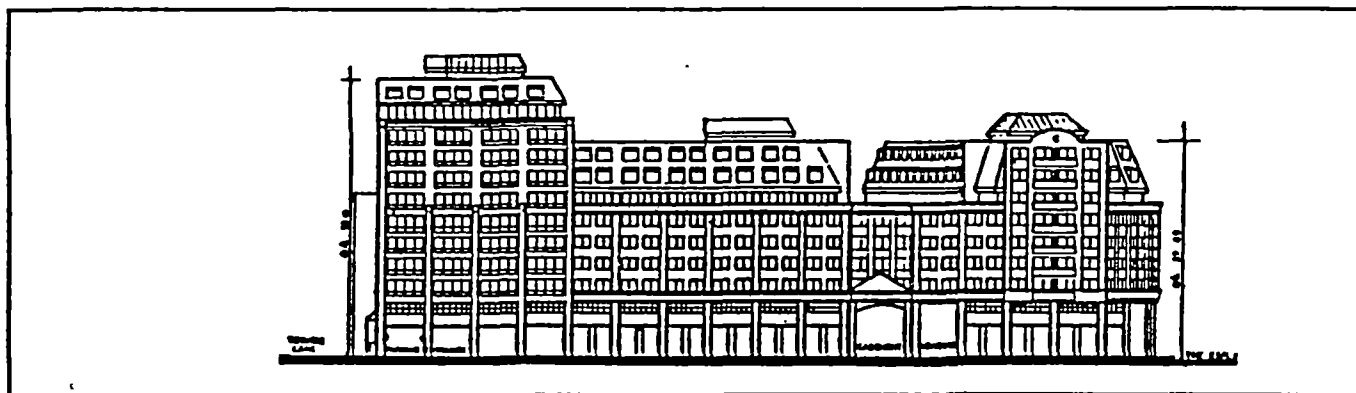
St. Lawrence: Drawings and Preliminary Figures, October 12, 1989, from Michael Spaziani, Architect for City of Toronto Housing Department
 Bathurst-Spadina: Jerome Markson Architects (1990)



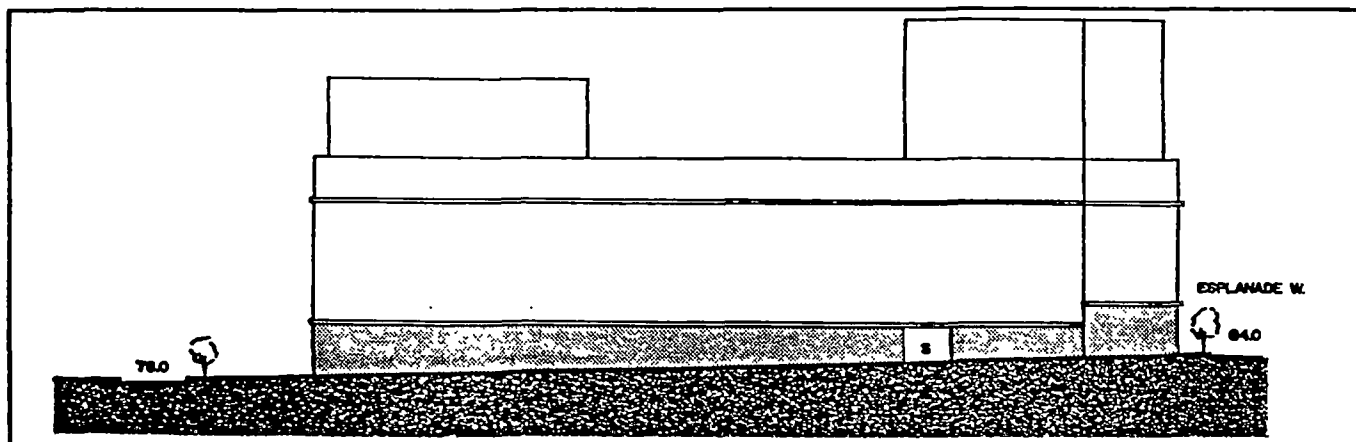
St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: C2 Site Building Footprint



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 33/34 Building Footprint



St. Lawrence Neighbourhood: C2 Site - Market Street Elevation



Bathurst-Spadina Neighbourhood: Block 33/34 - Portland Street Elevation

Note: Drawings are approximately at the same scale.

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